

For Reference

NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM

B29973

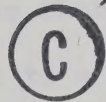
Ex LIBRIS
UNIVERSITATIS
ALBERTAENSIS



THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

ADAPTIVE CHANGE AND OVERSEAS CHINESE SETTLEMENTS, WITH
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO A CHINESE COMMUNITY
IN THE CANADIAN PRAIRIES

by



HOE BAN SENG

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING, 1971


ABSTRACT

The Chinese migration overseas is a significant event in human history. The world population today has a significant component of the overseas Chinese, with corresponding political, economic and social implications for, and impact on, the various social structures in which they live.

It is certainly of sociological interest to examine the pattern of Chinese living, and their reaction and change under the diverse political and social systems in the Eastern as well as in the Western societies. Their similarities and differences in reactions and diverse transformation may have some significant implications for the sociological theories in socio-cultural change, assimilation and race relations.

The study is based on two sources of data: a. A background examination into the available sociological, anthropological and historical studies on the Chinese overseas; with emphasis on the comparative analysis of adaptive patterns under different political, economic and social structures; and b. A field study of a Chinese community in the Canadian Prairies.

The study re-examines the traditional concept of assimilation and suggests an alternative concept of adaptive change which can best explain the phenomena of Chinese migration around the world. It was found that the assimilation of immigrants to the attitude and behavioural patterns of the host society, however appropriate for certain European immigrant groups in North America, is not adequate for an understanding of Chinese communities in Canada.



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2023 with funding from
University of Alberta Library

<https://archive.org/details/Seng1971>

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Never before in my life had I conducted a field visit in 30 below weather; nor had I ever conducted an interview until 4 o'clock in the morning and then walked back to the University from downtown and discussed the field notes with my Supervisor, Professor Charles W. Hobart at 8 o'clock in the basement of the Cameron Library. Looking back now, I think these were gratifying experiences.

It would be inexcusable on my part if I ever forget to acknowledge my intellectual debt to Professors Charles Hobart and Arthur K. Davis. Both of them have been very helpful to me and have provided me with knowledge, guidance, instructions and counselling. They have shown a kindness which only eminent traditional Chinese scholars could offer. They supervised, modified and critically evaluated the research without which the present study would never have come into being.

Professor Brian Evans is an expert on Chinese history, whose name is a guarantee on scholarship. I was fortunate to have had him as my external reader and to have the benefits of his suggestions and comments. Professors John Forster and Carlo Calderola also offered valuable guidance and suggestions during the various stages of the research.

Messers, James Smith, Robert Browning, Henry L. Wilson, Jr., Alan Wallerstedt, Robert Perry, Walter R. Butt III and John Middleton, all law or graduate students at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee have been helpful in polishing my English;

their assistance which I gratefully acknowledge.

Miss F. Mielke, a "kind-hearted" librarian of the University of Alberta deserves many thanks. She patiently assisted in searching for much relevant research material.

I would like also to take this opportunity to thank Professor William E. Willmott of the University of British Columbia, and Professor Stanford M. Lyman, formerly of the University of Nevada, for their expert advice in the earlier stages of this study.

To my Chinese informants and especially to those living in Chinatown, I express my heartfelt thanks for their kindness, cooperation and helpfulness which I will always cherish in my memory. As the Chinese say, "We need not have to know each other before we meet, for we are all wanderers around the world".

Hoe Ban Seng

Spring, 1971.

Nashville, Tennessee.

TABLES OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	i
LIST OF TABLES	v
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. THEORETICAL FRAME	12
The Process of Immigrants' Assimilation ,	12
The Process of Adaptive Change	19
III. METHODOLOGY	28
Library Research	28
Field Research	29
IV. A HISTORY OF THE CHINESE MIGRATION TO CANADA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ALBERTA	40
Chinese Migration to Canada	40
Chinese Migration to Alberta	64
V. A CHINESE COMMUNITY IN THE CANADIAN PRAIRIES	82
The Ecological Pattern of Settlement .	82.
Family and Kinship	88
Chinese Economy and Occupational Structure in a Prairie Chinese Community	106
The Leadership and the Framework of the Chinese Organization	119

TABLES OF CONTENTS

(continued)

	Page
The Pattern of Assimilation	172
The Community Life	182
The Community's Problems	195
The Prairie Chinese vis-a-vis the Larger Society	210
A Concluding Note	214
 VI. THE CHANGES OF THE CHINESE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OVERSEAS WITH COMPARATIVE REFERENCE TO THE PRAIRIE CHINESE COMMUNITY AND OTHER OVERSEAS CHINESE SETTLEMENTS	219
The Pattern of Migration	219
The Changes of Family and Kinship Structure	224
Elite Structure and Social Stratification	230
The Pattern of Chinese Associations Overseas	239
Differential Economic Success and Social Structure	248
Persistence and Change	268
 VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	290
 SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	301

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
I. The Numbers of Overseas Chinese by Continents (1953 and 1967)	8-10
II. Chinese Population in Canada, 1880-81	44
III. Chinese Population in Canada, 1891	48
IV. The Amount of Head Tax Imposed on the Chinese Immigrants to Canada	50
V. The Chinese Population in Canada, 1902	51
VI. The Numbers of Chinese Immigrants Entering Canada, 1910- 1920	53
VII. The Numbers of Chinese Immigrants Entering Canada, 1924 - 1947	56
VIII. The Numbers of Chinese Immigrants Entering Canada, 1947 - 1966	60
IX. Chinese Population in Canada, by provinces, 1881 - 1961	63
X. The Chinese Population Trend in Alberta, 1911 - 1961	75
XI. The Numbers of Chinese Immigrants to Alberta, 1960 - 1968	76
XII. The Distribution of Chinese in Alberta, by Sex, 1961	76
XIII. The Years of Separation of 40 Toronto Chinese Families, 1952	89
XIV. The Distribution of Local Chinese Businesses, 1969; and a Comparison of the Percentage of Local Chinese Businesses with Canada's Percentage Distribution of Employed (by Industrial Groups), 1968	108

LIST OF TABLES

(Continued)

Table		Page
XV.	The Interlocking of Various Associational Positions by Chinese Leaders, 1968 - 1969 121
XVI.	The Masonic Branches in the Prairie Provinces, 1966 - 1969 153
XVII.	The Numbers of Chinese School Students, Classified by Sex and Standard, winter, 1969 161
XVIII.	The Pattern of Chinese Associational Location 170
XIX.	The Economic and Occupational Concentrations of Various Chinese Dialect Groups in Southeast Asia, Before the Second World War	... 252-254

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Whenever the waters of the sea wash a distant shore, there are overseas Chinese. The first Chinese migration is said to have occurred at the beginning of the Chou Dynasty (1122 B. C.) when Chi-tzu, a noble of the Shang Court, refusing to serve the Chou Dynasty, led five thousand followers to Korea. It was not until 219 B.C. that emigration to Japan took place; Hsu Fu, an official of the Chin Court, led three thousand children to Japan in search for the elixir of life for the emperor and failed to return to China. Since the Han Dynasty, the Chinese have gradually migrated to other parts of the world. Those Chinese who migrated to Siberia were mainly from the Northern provinces, especially Shangtung and Chili. Those Chinese from the Southeastern provinces migrated into Southeast Asia; especially during the Sung (960 A. D. - 1279 A.D.) and Yuan (1279 A.D. - 1368 A.D.) periods, when there were important trade relations between China and the countries in the Nanyang (Southeast Asia). However, the really significant beginning of the Chinese settlement in Southeast Asia was begun by Cheng Ho (1371 A.D. - 1435 A.D.), the great navigator of the Ming Dynasty. Because of long historical contact, the influence of the Chinese in Nanyang is evident; especially in Vietnam which derived its social customs, its history and its civilization from China. In fact, Tongking, the greater part of Annam was considered as an integral part of Imperial China before the French

colonialization. It was during the Western colonial period that there was a great exodus of Chinese migrants to the Nanyang. Chinese labour was employed in the exploitation of natural resources and in the establishment of various types of plantations.

Between 1847 and 1874, the Chinese, principally from the Southeastern provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien emigrated to Cuba and other Caribbean areas, working as railroad, canal and plantation labourers. According to British Caribbean Census of 1943 and 1946, there were 16,187 persons of unmixed Chinese ancestry in the area.¹ Today, most of the Caribbean Chinese are in Trinidad, Guyana and Jamaica; the Chinese in the latter country are mostly from the province of Kwangtung.

About a century ago, Chinese began to settle in Africa, mainly in the Eastern islands of Mauritius, Madagascar and Reunion, originally working as labourers in the sugarcane plantations and later turning to business and trade. In South Africa, the Chinese today are the descendents of gold mine labourers. There are Chinese in the Middle East, coming principally from Sinkiang, Northern China; most of them are Muslims.

The discovery of gold in 1848's in California and the construction of the transcontinental railroad in 1860's in the United States elicited the beginnings of Chinese emigration. The lure of goldfields in Australia and New Zealand led, at about the same time, to another wave of migration from the Southeastern provinces to these areas.

The history of the Chinese in Canada begins in 1858, when

many Chinese from California, attracted by the gold rush, moved north to the Fraser River and the Cariboo district, where gold had also been discovered. After 1860, however, the Chinese began direct emigration from Hong Kong and Kwangtung to Victoria and Vancouver.

From this brief survey of the history of Chinese migration, it is apparent that the overseas Chinese today form an important component of the world population; especially in Southeast Asia, the Chinese have modified to some degree the demographic pattern of the various countries. It is estimated that there are 18.5 million overseas Chinese around the world today, including England and the Western European countries. (see Table I)

To examine the phenomena of Chinese migration, the persistence and change of Chinese culture overseas, the patterns of Chinese living and the similarities and differences in reactions under diverse political, economic and social structure is certainly of theoretical interest for sociology. As Morton Fried notes, the Chinese overseas provide a "fascinating laboratory for social scientists of various disciplinary bents". He further emphasizes that "the diversity of culture represented by the overseas Chinese, the diversity of settings in which they have found themselves, and the wide differences in the histories of specific Chinese colonies" made the overseas Chinese a "bona fide object of research".²

The competing interests of both Peking and Taipei regimes today in involving overseas Chinese in their homeland politics presents another significant dimension in the studies of the

overseas Chinese. Both governments claim the allegiance of overseas Chinese by virtue of the principle of jus sanguinis and ancestry, irrespective of country of birth and length of residence.

Traditionally, the Republican government has long regarded the overseas Chinese as the "mother of revolution" -- for they contributed significant financial support for the overthrow of the Manchus regime. Taipei has entered negotiation with the Republic of Philippines and South Vietnam over the issue of political refugees and economic problems. Peking, on the other hand, included the overseas Chinese in the 1955 census and entered negotiation with the Republic of Indonesia and with Burma in 1954-1955 over the problem of dual nationality and the status of the overseas Chinese. Some political observers thought that Peking, emerging as a major power, could serve as a point of reference for political thinking among the overseas Chinese. There is speculation that the overseas Chinese can be "a source of help for the spread of Chinese Communism and its intellectual hegemony in Southeast Asia."³ Chiang Kai-shek was quoted as saying that he would not abandon his overseas brethren and has created a Chinese Commission to deal with overseas Chinese affairs. There is a rumour that the island of Formosa is "well suited to become the nucleus of an overseas Chinese Empire."⁴

It is apparent that both Peking and Taipei have political and economic interests in the Chinese diaspora -- especially in trade expansion and the remittances sent by the overseas Chinese. This poses a dilemma for the overseas Chinese, especially in

view of the emergent native nationalism in Southeast Asia. It is doubtful the overseas Chinese, traditionally relying on village, district and speech-group origins for common solidarities, have ever regarded themselves as having a common identity abroad; or that they still regard China today as their social and cultural model.

China has closed her doors to field research by Western sociologists and anthropologists, and researchers have turned to the Chinese communities abroad in order to examine the remnants of the traditional Chinese society. Though most of these studies could be regarded as a form of "cultural-lag" study (in which the researchers tried to reconstruct the traditional Chinese society based on their field work on the overseas Chinese), nevertheless, they did provide insights into the nature of the Chinese rural society, a society which might have been changed beyond recognition in Mainland China today.

In Canada today, examination of the minority communities is important from the following two viewpoints: that of the gradual integration of the group into the larger pluralistic society; and that of studying their distinctive characteristics and adaptive patterns in the Canadian social order.

Traditionally, assimilation is seen as a process whereby the immigrants gradually lost all their distinctive characteristics in the host society. In this study, assimilation is viewed as a range of dynamic interplay between the forces of immigrants and the members of the host society. Assimilation is not the final outcome of absorbing immigrants into the host society.

Adaptive change is viewed as a dynamic process whereby the immigrants adapt and change in different cultural environment and in accordance with the changing social, economic and political conditions.

Integration is seen as a process whereby the cultural traits and distinctive characteristics of both the immigrants and the members of the host society will blend together. Acculturation is a process "whereby individuals, as immigrants, in time incorporate new norms, values and behavioural patterns in an effort to become accepted members of the new society."⁵

The present research is a study in comparative sociology. The purpose of this study of the overseas Chinese is to examine the concept of assimilation, the process of socio-cultural change, race relations and the status of the Chinese as a minority group in the Western societies, and to compare our findings with those from similar studies of the overseas Chinese in Southeast Asian societies. In other words, from the study of contemporary Chinese group life in a variety of adoptive countries, their community structure, and their political, economic and social institutions, some theoretical formulation of the process of adaptive change can be delineated.

It has been observed that the Chinese in Southeast Asia are adaptable and changeable in accordance with the rising tide of political, economic and social forces; moreover, they exhibit different assimilative patterns. From the historical perspective, the assimilation of the Chinese in Southeast Asia has been an ebb and flow process. By contrast, in the Western societies,

the Chinese social organizations are generally subservient to the larger social order and they tend to assimilate more easily to the Western ways of life. In view of the diverse adaptive patterns of the Chinese in various social structures, the study will suggest the process of adaptive change as an explanatory concept instead of the traditional concept of assimilation.

Essentially then, the study focuses on two main themes: a comprehensive overview of the overseas Chinese across many national and cultural boundaries; and field work on a Chinese community in the Canadian Prairies. It is expected that the examination of the adaptive patterns of the Chinese in Southeast Asia will partially verify the process of adaptive change in the Eastern societies; whereas the field work in a Prairie Chinese community will also partially verify the adaptive transformation of the Chinese in the Western societies.

Table I

The Numbers of Overseas Chinese by Continents
(1953 and 1967)

Locality	Numbers	
	1953	1967
Asia	13,374,716	17,950,700
Thailand	3,690,000	4,000,000
Hong Kong	2,250,000	3,700,000
Malaya	2,216,000	2,955,000
Indonesia	2,000,000	3,000,000
Vietnam	1,000,000	1,250,000
Singapore	893,004	1,414,000
Burma	360,000	400,000
Macao	260,000	280,000
North Borneo	236,023	188,400
Cambodia	217,928	300,000
Philippines	143,582	300,000
Japan	44,256	50,000
India	22,000	54,000
South Korea	17,982	30,000
Arabia	9,000	13,000*
Timor	3,500	5,800*
Laos	3,175	25,000
Turkey	1,380	3,000*
Ryukyu Islands	785	1,200
Ceylon	450	1,000
Pakistan	44	2,500
Other	96	—
Americas	238,363	521,255
United States	117,629	300,000
Canada	32,528	70,000
Cuba	23,765	25,000
Peru	15,530	24,000
Jamaica	13,000	21,000
Mexico	12,000	5,500
Guiana	3,648	4,100
Guatemala	3,323	5,000
Trinidad	3,100	15,000
Nicaragua	2,500	3,000
Panama	2,100	8,000
Venezuela	2,000	4,200
Costa Rica	1,240	3,000
Chile	1,018	3,000
Brazil	943	11,800
Colombia	917	1,800
Ecuador	917	4,500
Dominica	634	1,300
Honduras	630	1,000

Table I (continued)

The Numbers of Overseas Chinese by Continents
(1953 and 1967)

Locality	Numbers	
	1953	1967
Salvador	480	600
Argentina	250	380
Haiti	207	300
Barbados	--	100
Curacao	--	500
Aruba	--	400
Bolivia	--	100
Paraguay	--	15
Uruguay	--	160
(Dutch Guiana)	--	7,000
(French Guiana)	--	500
Other	204	--
Europe	11,549	53,500
France	3,300	3,000
Britain	2,546	45,000
Netherlands	2,017	2,500
Soviet Union	1,236	--
Denmark	900	--
Germany	800	1,300 (West)
Italy	260	500
Belgium	118	450
Spain	--	300
Portugal	--	200
Switzerland	--	150
Luxembourg	--	30
Austria	--	50
Greece	--	20
Other	372	--
Oceania	66,363	51,800
Hawaiian Islands		
	32,376	--
Australia	13,174	25,000
Society Islands	7,055	--
New Zealand	7,000	11,500
Fiji Islands	3,857	5,000

Table I (continued)

The Numbers of Overseas Chinese by Continents
(1953 and 1967)

Locality	Numbers	
	1953	1967
New Guinea	2,600	3,100
Samoa	301	--
Tahiti	--	7,200
Africa	31,320	49,070
Mauritius	16,000	23,500
Madagascar	5,358	9,000
Union of		
South Africa	4,179	8,000
Reunion	3,800	3,000
Portugese		
East Africa	1,354	--
Mozambique	--	3,500
Angola	--	500
Libya	--	500
Tanganyika	--	350
U.A.R.	--	30
Liberia	--	30
Southern		
Rhodesia	--	300
Kenya	--	150
Ethiopia	--	50
Congo	--	20
Uganda	--	70
Zambia	--	70
Total	13,722,311	18,548,125

* The numbers of Chinese in Arabia, Timor and Turkey was not included in the total numbers of Chinese in Asia. Source: Lee, Rose Hum, "The Chinese Abroad", Phylon, Vol. XVII, 3rd Quarter, 1956, pp.263.

Lew, Hilary, "People of the World", Free China Review, Vol. XVII(5), May, 1967, pp.37-38.

Footnotes Chapter I

1

Fried, Morton H., "The Chinese in the British Caribbean", in Fried, M. H., (ed), Colloquium on Overseas Chinese, International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1958, pp.49-50.

2

Fried, Morton H., Preface, Colloquium on Overseas Chinese, ibid, pp.v.

3

Chandrasekhar, S., Communist China Today, London, Asia Publishing House, 1961, pp.55.

4

Han, Suyin, "The Two Chinas and the Overseas Chinese", Eastern World, March, 1955, pp.20.

5

Lee, Rose Hum, The Chinese in the United States of America, Hong Kong University Press, 1960, pp.434.

Chapter II

THEORETICAL FRAME

(A) The Process of Immigrants' Assimilation

The study of the assimilation of immigrants to the host societies has been of great concern to sociology. Traditionally, most of the studies have employed three kinds of approaches in examining the immigration phenomena: the social psychological approach focuses on concepts with individuals' referents; the demographic approach concerns itself with population trends as a result of immigration and its impacts on the social and economic conditions of the dominant social structure; and the functional approach deals with the patterns of social interaction and the kinds of social relationships to which immigration has given rise.

The process of immigration, according to S. N. Eisenstadt is a process of physical transition from one society to another. In other words, the migrant is taken out of one social system and transplanted to another. The experiences of transplantation may involve the modification of one's actions, values and role participation in the new situation.¹ Immigration is certainly a significant phenomena and has wide implications for both the sending and receiving societies.

Assimilation has been variously defined in accordance with the different social and cultural contexts under study. H. P. Fairchild defined the process of assimilation as the gradual disappearance of minority groups' value and behavioural patterns in the host societies.² R. E. Park defined assimilation as the process by which "peoples of diverse racial origins and different cultural heritages occupying a common territory, achieve a cultural solidarity sufficient at least to sustain a national existence."³ Arnold M. Rose stated that assimilation should be the "adoption by a person or group of the culture of another social group to such a complex extent that the person or group no longer has any characteristics identifying him with his former culture and no longer has any particular loyalties to his former culture."⁴ Peter Blau, on the other hand, believed that the concepts of assimilation and integration refer to the movement of migrants "toward some kinds of adjustment in a social system." The movement of the actors is a social process and is toward a structural location.⁵ They all seem to agree that assimilation is a process by which an individual or group may acquire some characteristics of the host societies and may lose some of their old country ways and practices.

Historically, the study on inter-group relations has undergone three stages of development in sociology. E. B. Reuter spelled out that the first stage was the emphasis on the physical and mental differences of the various ethnic groups; the second stage was the study of the significant differences in the

languages, customs, beliefs and institutions of the various racial groups; and the recent tendency has been to study the interrelationships and patterns of interactions of the many ethnic groups.⁶ In racial policy, some assimilationists maintain that homogeneity is preferable to heterogeneity in order to avoid conflict; the pluralists think that cultural diversity is desirable and that peoples achieve unity in diversity.

In expounding his theory of race relations, R. E. Park believed that the contacts between two or more ethnic groups would be followed by competition and conflict, and the outcome of such conflict would be accommodation. Assimilation is the final stage of progression by which the members of the minority group would acquire the culture of the larger society and gradually be absorbed into the general population.⁷ Eisenstadt, on the other hand, observes that the immigrants, due to insecurity and inadequacy may group together during the initial period of settlement; and the degree of immigrants' integration can be seen later by the extent of their participation and identification with the host society. The process is an "extension of the immigrants' field of social participation through mutual adaptation of their role-expectations and the institutionalized norms of absorbing society."⁸

Anglo-conformity, melting-pot and cultural pluralism are the three historical principles that determined the United States' immigration policy. The immigrants have to pledge political allegiance, to be able to support themselves and to learn the English language. Milton Gordon uses the term anglo-conformity

to explain the behavioural patterns and other visible aspects of immigrants' life. Melting-pot is used to denote the immigrants' contribution to a new kind of civilization. Cultural pluralism stresses the principle of respectability among various ethnic groups in living together. Gordon regards integration as the key of the arch of assimilation and defined integration as participational identification.⁹

Shibutani and Kwan disagreed with Park that in some situations, the inter-ethnic groups' contacts did not produce conflict, segregation and assimilation in a cycle as Park saw it. The interaction of the people is a social process and the conditions under which the process occurs must be ascertained. Assimilation then, is a mental process involving a drastic change of perspectives. The members of the minority group will acquire the culture of the dominant group and will in time be absorbed into the general population.¹⁰

The process of assimilation can be viewed along a continuum from the level of entering the primary group relationship to the level of the newly emerging social systems. In general, the assimilative process can be distinguished on internal and external dimensions: the former refers to the subjective aspects and the changes in the attitudes and values of the immigrants in accordance with the pattern of the host society; the latter refers to the observable changes in behaviour and life style of the immigrants toward conformity with the behavioural patterns of the dominant society. The former can also be seen as cultural assimilation where the immigrant group becomes familiar with

and adopts the value and belief systems of the host society. The latter can be viewed as structural assimilation definable in varying degrees, where the immigrants assume various roles and positions at different levels of the host social systems.

Most of the studies on assimilation and immigration have not formulated an adequate framework and they are seldom concerned with historical dynamics, time perspectives and the tempo of the adaptive capacity of the immigrants. It is hoped that by examining the process of assimilation of the Chinese in various social structures, and by observing their differential degrees of adaptive transformation, a theoretical formulation on assimilation and immigration can be derived. It is certainly of sociological significance to observe that the Chinese, as a culturally sophisticated minority, exhibit a variety of assimilative patterns in the technologically less advanced societies as contrasted with those in technologically advanced societies.

Assimilation is certainly a dynamic process; the progression or regression of the process is dependent upon the social and cultural forces operating on the environment in which the immigrants live. The Chinese in Bangkok and Trengganu can be used as a case for illustration. In Bangkok, Coughlin reports that the imposition of the discriminatory measures by the Thai government had hampered the assimilation of the Chinese. In addition, the establishment of an internally functional or self-sufficient Chinese community which does not have to depend on the external social institutions further inhibits the assimilative trends.¹¹ In Trengganu, Gosling noted that the

Chinese who lived in the isolated hinterland and had had prolonged contacts with the neighbouring Malays, had assimilated into the Malay community by adoption of certain aspects of the Malays' local culture. Their house-styles, food habits, modes of cultivation, and even gesticulation, laugh, and talk were like those of the Malays. But with the emergence of native nationalism, the increasing power of the Muslim orthodoxy, the strict observance of the Muslim laws, coupled with the increased rate of marriage between the Baba Chinese and the newly arrived Chinese immigrants and the greater frequency of external contacts with other Chinese in the urban centers due to improved communication, there had been a renaissance of the Chinese elements in the local Chinese community.¹² The awareness of the Chinese culture and value in the community retarded the progressive process of assimilation.

In the West, the early discriminatory legal provisions, racial prejudice and general socio-economic discrimination hindered the process of assimilation of the Chinese. They were regarded as a repressed minority who reacted in passivity and withdrawal. They mainly engaged in non-competitive occupations such as restaurants and laundries. Because their businesses had to be located in the urban centers or small towns, this contributed to the geographic dispersion of the Chinese over the country.¹³ Barnett notes that the Chinese restaurant is itself "an instrument of accommodation, symbolic of the submerged status of the Chinese Americans",¹⁴ because it is a form of occupational adaptation to avoid white persecution on their economic pursuits.

However, with the repeal of discriminatory immigration laws and the gradual acceptance of the Chinese by the members of the larger society, it is a common observation that there is a gradual assimilation of the younger generation into the North American society.

Certainly, the assimilation of new elements by the old and the transference of a culture and a way of life from one social setting to another is a highly complex social phenomena. The assimilative process is not inevitable and may be reciprocal; it involves the constant interplay between the cultural and social forces of immigrants and the indigene. The immigrants not only form distinctive settlement overseas but also come with their unique culture, forms of social organisation, historical heritage, family and kinship system, diverse experiences in socialization and behavioural patterns. These cultural and social factors may give rise to various patterns of assimilative configurations, depending on the kinds of environment in which they live.

Contrary to E. W. Burgess and R. E. Park, there is evidence today to suggest that assimilation is not the end product of the process of immigration in the new society. In other words, the assimilation by the immigrants of the attitude and behavioural patterns of the host society, however appropriate it might be for certain European immigrant groups in North America, is inadequate for an understanding of the Chinese communities in Canada.

(B) The Process of Adaptive Change

There seems to be a myth that the Chinese are un-assimilable and therefore become problems for the societies in which they live. Some Western researchers thought that the Chinese usually cling to their traditions, social customs, religious beliefs and old country practices and perpetuate their language, folkway and culture. Because of this, they are not changable and adaptable. Moreover, the influence of sinicisation seems to be evident in Southeast Asia where people who are not socially and physically Chinese can become Chinese by acquiring Chinese cultural characteristics. Freedman in 1948 noted that a Chinese problem existed in "every territory of Southeast Asia" for the Chinese saw Nanyang as a "unified area of exploitation, settlement and refuge"; and the presence of "large numbers of Chinese in Southeast Asia make assimilation difficult."¹⁵ Fitzgerald stated that the cities and towns in Southeast Asia have always maintained their Chinese character. The characteristics of these Chinese urban centers are "much closer to the towns and cities of South China than to the customs of the native population"; the shops in the urban centers are kept by the Chinese and "Chinese advertising banners, gay with ideographs in vivid colours, hang across the roadway." The people "in the streets are predominantly Chinese, the food they eat is Chinese cooking, the goods they sell are much the same in all these countries"; and "this way

is the Chinese way." The persistence of Chinese institutions and way of life in Southeast Asia, according to Fitzgerald, can be regarded as constituting a Third China.¹⁶ Lyman noted that if the tourists "pass along Grant Avenue in San Francisco, Pender street in Vancouver, and Bell and Mott streets in New York city, peering at exotic food and art and experiencing the sights, sounds and smells of these cities' Chinatowns, (and then were) whisked away to .. Calcutta, Liverpool or the capital of the Malagasy Republic, they would discover, amidst the unfamiliarity of the several national cultures, still other Chinatowns not unlike their North American counterparts."¹⁷ Such observations are certainly hasty and general.

As regards, the so-called 'Chinese problem', Francis L. K. Hsu criticized the double standard employed by some of the Western scholars. He commented that the Europeans "cling to their own society and their ways more than any comparable people", and asked if there was any study on the Belgian minority in the Congo, the Dutch minority in Indonesia, the English minority in India and the American minority in Thailand that showed "Europeans going to native schools? " or assimilated into the native population. He further asked, "Have Americans living in India taken Indian nationality, learned to sit like Indians or gone to temples to worship the linga (a phallic symbol used in the cult worship of Siva) ?"¹⁸

On the other hand, the Chinese should be assimilated as a Thai, a Philipino, an Indonesian, an American or a Canadian -- otherwise they will present 'problems'. It is to be noted that

if there is a Chinese way dissimilar to the native population, there is also a European way far apart from the indigenous people. If there is a Third China, there is also a little England somewhere around the corner. One does not simply go round the world and say the cities and the food habits of the people in Melbourne, Sydney, Wellington, New York or Vancouver look like those back in London.

Persistence and change of a migratory community is a common phenomena, not only among the Chinese but also among the Europeans. When immigrants are "thrown together in a strange setting where they must make their social life among themselves, they are likely to divide into units which express the solidarity of homeland ties."¹⁹ The Chinese traditionally have used various criteria like same surname, shared dialect, same locality and shared occupation to organise their life together. But they exhibit dissimilar adaptive patterns under different political, economic and social structures in Southeast Asia as well as in Western societies.

The Chinese clan and lineage organisations, when brought overseas, had to be modified in accordance with the diverse social and cultural conditions. This was because their clan and lineage organisations were culturally defined and were based on the traditional values and belief systems. This form of organisation could function well in a social framework where the central political control was weak. Moreover, the clan and lineage organisations demanded collective achievements and stressed individual sacrifices for group solidarity and advancement. It

was functional to a large degree, in an agrarian social order but did not encourage social and economic development. When this form of organization was created overseas, the emphasis had to be shifted to a particularistic orientation in order to allow individual ambition in economic endeavour; nevertheless, clan and lineage organizations were used and perpetuated as common identities and symbols for group integration. Only then, could a new dimension of social and economic development be envisaged overseas.

To a large extent, the principles of kinship relations and clan loyalties have been manipulated for cooperation and functioning in the economic field. In society where there was a lack of economic security, a lack of efficient bureaucratic organizations and inadequate banking and financial institutions, the Chinese had had to organize themselves to further and to protect their economic interests. As noted earlier, kinship, dialect, village, county, clan and lineage were used as common identities for cooperation and for in-group solidarity.

In Southeast Asia, the Chinese were able to make much headway in their economic endeavours, by using their knowledge, skill and experiences. Moreover, in a pluralistic social structure with colonial economy, the Chinese were able to play the role of middlemen complementing the colonial powers. Equipped with the lingua franca of the native people, the Chinese went to the remote areas to collect raw materials and distribute Western manufactured goods to the countryside. In a way, the Chinese provided "a link between the peasant cultivators and the world

market" and contributed to the "economic differentiation of a subsistence-based society."²⁰ As time went on, the Chinese learned the business methods and techniques of the Western world supplementing their traditional dealings in trade and commerce. With hardship and sacrifice, the Chinese were able to accumulate wealth and even monopolised some of the essential economic enterprises of the host societies. Retail trade, especially was dominated by the Chinese. This was in actual fact a response to a demand created by the Western industrial nations in a situation where there was no indigenous development of trade and commerce.

With a high degree of economic success, the Chinese merchants were able to establish schools, hospitals, community clubs and voluntary associations for the benefit and welfare of their clan and lineage members as well as for the general Chinese community. This reinforced the group solidarity and created the we-feeling among the Chinese.

The migration of the Chinese to the Western societies was a comparatively recent phenomena -- most came in the mid-nineteenth century. In the field of economic enterprise, the Chinese were not able to make much headway. This was because the Chinese, with their agrarian background, relatively inferior business and economic methods, little capital and lack of skill and knowledge of modern capitalistic business organisations, were unable to compete with Western enterprises based on modern financial and commercial management and on constant technological innovations. In other words, their knowledge of business was to a certain extent obsolete to the economic manipulation in the

West; they could not create a kind of economic monopolization comparable to the situation in Southeast Asia.

It is commonly observed that the clan and lineage organizations in the West serve only the functions of welfare and mutual assistance. Their influence and power are in general declining. In North America, these clan and lineage organizations are usually situated in Chinatowns, serving the interests of the old immigrants and the newcomers. The togetherness of the old immigrants has perpetuated a kind of "rooming house culture". There appears to have been an accelerated rate of assimilation among the younger generation in North America; even the old immigrants are said to observe some of the Chinese festivals and customs, and not to follow the elaborate ceremonies and ritualism.

In general, it has been observed that where the Chinese were able to use their knowledge and skill to create economic and social power; and where they could maintain a favourable economic position of monopolization; and where the clan and lineage organizations were functionally significant to the social structure in which they lived, there was less assimilation and more persistence in the traditional Chinese way of life and customs. On the other hand, where their knowledge and skill were irrelevant to the modern industrial society; and where they could not create, as in the East, a kind of economic middlemen monopoly; and where their clan and lineage organizations were functionally insignificant to the social structure in which they lived; then,

there would be more assimilation to the attitude and behavioural patterns of the host society, and less persistence of the traditional Chinese way of life and custom.

Footnotes -- Chapter II

1

Eisenstadt, S. N., "The Process of Absorption of the new immigrants in Israel", Human Relations, Vol. V, 1952, pp.225.

2

Fairchild, H.P., Immigration, New York, Macmillan Co., 1925.

3

Park, R.E., "Assimilation, Social", Encyclopedia of Social Science, Vol. II, New York, Macmillan Co., 1930, pp.281-2.

4

Rose, A., Sociology: The Study of Human Relations, New York: Knopf, 1956, pp.557-588.

5

Blau, Peter, "A Theory of Social Integration", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LXV(3), May, 1961, pp.545-556.

6

Reuter, E.B., "Racial Theory", American Journal of Sociology, May, 1945, pp.452-461.

7

Park, R.E., Race and Culture: Essays in the Sociology of Contemporary Man, London: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1950, pp.136-51.

8

Eisenstadt, S.N., op.cit., pp.225-226.

9

Gordon, Milton, Assimilation in American Life, New York: Oxford University Press, 1964, pp.71-81.

10

Shibutani, T., & Kwan, K. M., Ethnic Stratification, New York: Macmillan Co., 1965, pp.135.

11

Coughlin, R.J., "The Chinese in Bangkok: a Commercial Oriented Minority", American Sociological Review, June, 1958, pp.311-316.

12

Gosling, L.A.P., "Migration and Assimilation of Rural Chinese in Trengganu", in J. Bastin & R. Roolvink (ed), Malaysian and Indonesian Studies, Oxford University Press, 1964, pp.203-213 & pp.221.

13

Weightman, G.W., "Community Organisation of Chinese living in Manila", Philippines Social Science and Humanities Review, Vol.19, 1954, pp.25-39.

14

Barnett, Milton, Alcohol and Culture: A Study of Drinking in a Chinese American Community, unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell University, 1952, pp. 96 & pp. 136.

15

Freedman, Maurice, "Chinese in Southeast Asia", Asian Horizon, Vol. 1(3), 1948, pp. 13-14.

16

Fitzgerald, C.P., The Third China, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1965, pp. 81.

17

Lyman, Stanford M., "Contrasts in the Community Organisations of Chinese and Japanese in North America", The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, Vol. 5(2), May, 1968, pp. 33.

18

Hsu, Francis L.K., Discussion of Assimilation, in Fried, Morton H., (ed), Colloquium on Overseas Chinese, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1958, pp. 68.

19

Freedman, Maurice, "Immigration and Association -- the Chinese in nineteenth century Singapore", in L.A. Fallers, Immigrants and Association, Mouton, The Hague, Paris, 1967, pp. 41.

20

Fallers, L.A., Immigrants and Association, Mouton, The Hague, Paris, 1967, pp. 11.

Chapter III

METHODOLOGY

In writing his doctorate dissertation on The Structure of Chinese Society in Nineteenth Century America, Lyman said that he had to write his own history of the Chinese before he could do a sociological analysis.¹ I concur with this opinion as I encountered the same kind of problem in the study of the Prairie Chinese. Without constructing the historical dimension of the Chinese community, it is difficult to understand the present social structure of the Chinese. The assembly of historical documents, oral history and newspaper reporting is essential in constructing such an historical dimension. It is hoped that the combination of historical study and sociological investigation will provide some insights into the Chinese community under study. The present study made use the following two sources of data:

(A) Library Research

This centered on a background examination into the available sociological, anthropological and historical studies on the overseas Chinese, with emphasis on the comparative analysis

of adaptive patterns under different political, economic and social structures. I tried to review as much literature as possible, paying special attention to the observable patterns of Chinese reactions and transformation under various social conditions. There were conflicting accounts and different findings among the various studies; but I tended to rely on those most recent and authoritative studies. Professor Charles W. Hobart helped me in writing many letters to various Chinese publishing houses in Vancouver, asking for old issues of news magazines, directories, newspapers and other related information; the response had been satisfactory.

(B) Field Research

A field study of a Canadian Prairie Chinese community was deemed necessary and crucial, not only it would present a clear picture of the Chinese position in the Canadian Prairies but would also hopefully verify partly the theoretical formulation of the Chinese reactions to Western societies.

An exploratory study was conducted in the summer of 1968, to ascertain the research potentialities and the degree of sensitivity of the field. Many visits were made to the Chinese associations, families, clubs, school, grocery stores, restaurants and church. Many informal interviews and conversations were held with the old immigrants, Chinese community leaders, school

teachers, the proprietors of Chinese restaurants and grocery stores, members of Chinese families, waiters and labourers. I attended several Chinese associational meetings and other social functions such as the New Year celebration, private parties and church services. I also interacted extensively with a group of Chinese youths who were either born in Canada or who came here about ten years ago.

I encountered many difficulties and problems from this exploratory study. There were many sensitive areas in the research field of which I was not aware initially. At the beginning, many of my informants were superficial, uncooperative and suspicious. They were reluctant to discuss their kinship relations beyond the members of their immediate households. I was viewed with distrust if I asked too many questions about their families. This certainly ran counter to the normal Chinese courtesy of showing concern for the family. If one, as a stranger, made too many contacts with the informant or moved around Chinatown too often, he might arouse suspicion. At times, one could overhear others reminding the informants not to tell the interviewer too much. Once, when I was making some casual notes after an associational meeting, I was asked to present that note for inspection. I was asked to leave the association's premise at certain times as I had shown unusual interests in them. A rumour circulated that I was a spy from Hong Kong, working for the interests of the Immigration Office and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. I was attempting to "infiltrate" the Chinese community in order to check illegal immigrants from

within; it was a "disguised form" of investigation under the "good name of research".

Because of the unfortunate historical past of discrimination and prejudice in Canada, the older residents were reluctant to answer questions about their attitude toward the host society and about their forms of social life. They felt that the less the outside world knew about their community, the better it was. The most significant reason for their being suspicious about outside investigator was the open harrassment and embarrassment caused to the Chinese in respect to their immigrant status. The employment of special trained Hong Kong Policemen to investigate the admission of illegal immigrants created the impression that the Federal government was using Chinese to catch Chinese. This was "mischievous". There were constant checking of illegal immigrants in 1960-1962 in their families, places of work and in their associations. This caused fear and anxiety among the Chinese. The publicity and the few arrests in regard to the illegal immigrants caused a "loss of face" in the eyes of the larger society. Misunderstandings and arguments over recent government proposals for urban renewal and the evacuation of their Chinatown districts in the Prairies was another reason for their being evasive and sensitive to the field investigator.

There were also divisive forces in Chinatown which might have caused the informants' reluctance to impart information. One of them was their divided opinions on contemporary politics in China. There seemed to be three

different political forces in the Prairie Chinatown -- the members of the Kuomintang, the Freemason, and the Communist sympathisers. Political opinion was said to have been subjected to three waves of influence -- persons who came before the Second World War subscribed to the influence of Freemasonry, Monarchist Reform movement and the Republican Revolutionaries; and those who came after 1949 were deemed to have Communist sympathies. With China, posing a new force in international politics, there were said to be Communist sympathisers permeated across the traditional political boundaries in Chinatown. Recent mutual recognition between the Peking and the Canadian government may further differentiate the political thinking among the people in the community.

As a result of experiences from the exploratory study, it was found that a social survey based on an elaborate and formal questionnaire would not be practicable or feasible. Gradual acceptance of the investigator was gained by the use of the participant-observation technique. Chinatown residents were interested in me as a Malaysian of Chinese descent and who was able to speak Mandarin fluently; this was actually the focal point in some of the informal interviews and conversations. I undertook to tell them something about the Chinese in Southeast Asia and my family background; and then they would tell me something about themselves and about things happening here. It was late in that summer before I got to know a small group of Chinese youth well enough so that they invited me to their homes to attend some of their social functions and to introduce

me to their parents and relatives. The parents, in turn introduced me to some of the community leaders. And so it "proliferated" -- I got to know more and more people. Even then, it was necessary to avoid asking sensitive questions in the presence of others. A rapport of interrelationship has developed since then.

Some of the older immigrants have difficulties to converse in either Mandarin or English. The Cantonese that I learned in Singapore was insufficient to permit them to understand me. I had to learn the Toi-shan dialect which is the lingua franca of the local community. In some situations, written communication was used instead of verbal conversation; in other words, we communicated by writing the questions and answers in Chinese. It is to be noted that some of the elderly persons are partially deaf, by writing the questions and answers "to-and-fro", we communicated. In such form of communication, one has to pay attention to the facial expression of the respondents so as to get to know the "real meaning" of the written words.

The above experiences showed that the methodology of participant observation with unstructured interview and informal conversation was the best possible method for collecting data in the local Chinese community; as it provides the opportunity and flexibility to probe for more information. It also offers the opportunity to describe a wide range of phenomena from many points of view. It is a research process involving the actual observation and understanding of the life, experiences, and activities of the people under study. It enables

one to penetrate the inner dimension of human life and the meaningfulness of social interaction. One will have difficulty to describe the actual mechanism at work if one has not able to get to know the dynamic forces "behind the scene". Certainly, there are strengths and weaknesses in the use of the participant-² observation method.

The strength of the approach lies in the fact that the investigator has the opportunity of a face-to-face relationship with the subjects in a life situation and can obtain information which might otherwise remain closed to him. He will also have the opportunity to clarify the meanings of the situation by constant probing and questioning. By observing the whole process of living and by interacting among the people, the investigator will be able to get to know the meanings of their social interaction and their inner life. The investigator will have adequate time to understand the background, custom, tradition and culture of the people under study. Moreover, by entering into some degree of empathic relationship with the people, the investigator may increase his understanding of the people behaviour in their social world and their group perspectives; and may also increase the validity and meaningfulness of his observation. Certainly, there are problems of empathy; especially in studying the areas of political manipulation and conflict situations. But with experiences and skill, one can delineate some significant dimensions from the social horizons of the people. In general, we can say that by participating in the social processes, we can analyse the dynamics of the

situation and so infer the level of abstraction from the empirical world which may have some implications for sociological theory.

The weakness of the approach lies in the fact that it is not possible for an investigator to observe the actions of the whole group simultaneously, or to cover adequately the whole social event at one point of time. It is generally regarded that observation is a continued process of reevaluation and it may effect the researcher's perception of the situation over time. If one becomes too familiar or too accustomed to the setting, one may overlook certain valuable facts and important phenomena, and these may ultimately effect the objectivity of the research. In addition, the value-orientation, bias, and sensitivities of the investigator may affect the study by putting the views of the subjects into his own frame of reference. Since, unlike the social survey methods, participation-observation follows no specific design, the study is subjected to change as new phenomena are uncovered and the situation changes. Another problem is the collection of data which is usually unsystematic and has to be recorded into a meaningful sequence after the field work. Memory error may enter into such a form of recording. There is also a constant interplay between the researcher and the subjects, and it is thus difficult to control the mutual influences of both; for the researcher himself is also an important variable in the field. The development of personal and affective involvement may effect the objective observation and the selection of the social facts.

Bearing in mind the strengths and weaknesses of such an approach, a field investigator with considerable experience and with sufficient understanding of the background, values, culture and language of the people concerned will hopefully be able to minimize the weaknesses and increase the validity of the study.

An attempt was also made at collecting some data using mailed questionnaires. In late summer of 1968, in order to have a feel of the reactions to the study by the Chinese associations in other parts of Alberta, a mailed questionnaire was sent to a total of twenty-one associations; only three responded. The questions asked were as follows:

1. How long have the Chinese been settling in your city or town?
2. What are the aims and functions of your associations?
3. How long has your association been established?
4. What is the composition of male and female membership in your association?
5. Are the members of your association coming from the same village, county or province in China or mainly consisting of people of the same surname?
6. What are the main types of occupations in which most of your members are engaged; is there any specific reason why they are clustering in a particular occupation if any?
7. Has your association ever organized any form of ancestor worship?
8. Is your association maintaining contact with other Chinese associations in other parts of Canada?
9. Has your association subscribed to any Chinese newspapers or magazines?
10. What are the general ways of life among the Chinese in your city or town; are they still maintaining the traditions, customs and culture of the old country?
11. Is there any proposal to improve or to build a Chinese school in your community?

The field research was continued in the fall of 1968, between attending lectures and other course work in the University.

I went to Chinatown on weekends to maintain contacts with people and to keep abreast of the new developments. The field work was conducted more extensively in the summer of 1969 when I was more accepted by the informants. I participated more frequently in social activities and tried to get to know them well. I visited homes, gambling houses, private clubs and other areas of research interests. Sometimes the field work had to be carried out early in the morning when some groups of people were engaging in some form of leisure activities after the long hours of work in the restaurants or grocery stores. I moved around more frequently and asked more personal questions. It appeared that people were less suspicious of me now. Even at this point of time, one had to be cautious not to be seen too often with opposing groups (for example, the Kuomintang vis-a-vis the Freemason) otherwise they might think you were "carrying tales" between them. Because of their acceptance, most of the informal interviews were conducted as planned. I was invited to attend the Chinese New Year celebration, private parties and other social gatherings. In a few occasions, I was approached to settle some family disputes. I was asked to become a member of several clubs and political organisations. Some elderly persons asked me to approach the immigration authorities to clarify certain details in respect of their applications for admission of their members of families. I also helped in staging a variety show and in setting up a Chinese Art of Self-Defence Club in the University. My involvement and obligations seemed to enlarge like an ever widening circle.

The field work was carried on as usual in the fall of 1969. At that time, I had the feeling that I had "transformed" from a conscious inquirer to be a member of the community. I wrote down the details and impression after each field trip; and the notes and recordings were discussed extensively with my thesis supervisors.

While engaging in participant observation with the people, the field investigator tried as much as possible to identify the subgroups in the community and to pay attention to the significant and meaningful dimensions of their community life. Any recurrent pattern in the community was specially noted. Informal interviews were conducted extensively and the role of the investigator was shifted in accordance with the dynamics of the field situation. A final source of data was also tapped. Official records and documents had been consulted to provide information on the Prairie Chinese community. Throughout the whole period of research, I tried to collect the data as accurately and as objectively as possible. I also tried to look for consistency in responses and the behavioural patterns of the subjects in order to verify some of the questions involved. However, from my experiences, one should not be over-concerned with the so-called "orthodox objectivity". A trained and knowledgeable observer should be given some degree of freedom in interpreting and in selecting the data which he thinks are relevant. Sociology is as much or more an art than it is an "objective science".

Footnotes Chapter III

1

Lyman, Stnaford M., "History of the Chinese in United States -- A Brief History", Ta-Hsueh, University of California, Berkeley, Vol. I(5), 1969, pp.2.

2

Bruyn, Severyn T., The Human Perspectives in Sociology -- the Methodology of Participant Observation, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1966, pp.2-22 & pp.84-160.

Chapter IV

A HISTORY OF THE CHINESE MIGRATION TO CANADA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ALBERTA

(I) Chinese Migration to Canada

Various speculations of possible academic interest suggest that the Chinese may have been in what is now British Columbia, long before the arrival of Europeans in North America. Margaret A. Ormsby's book on British Columbia: A History contains an old map prepared by Lieutenant Henry Roberts, who inserted the words, "Foosang of the Chinese Navigator about the year 453", indicating that Foosang was in British Columbia and was discovered by a Chinese navigator.¹ Quoting extensively studies by the French sinologist Deguignes, the Chinese historian Chu Cheng-tze and the Western historians such as John Murray Gibson, John Windsor and B. A. McKelvie -- David Lee seems to be convinced that the Chinese monk Hwui Shen (慧深) travelled down through British Columbia and Mexico via Alaska one millennium before Columbus.²

According to oral tradition of some of the old immigrants in Canada, the Chinese reached the Western shores of North America hundreds of years before the coming of the Europeans, and claimed that part of the world as a province of Ta Han (the Great China). There was also a speculation, according to

Lee, that in 1280, when Kublai Khan invaded Japan, some of his navy were swept by the typhoon to the Western coast of Canada; and that these people were assimilated into the native population. McKelvie noted that the Indians in British Columbia have some Chinese blood.³ About 1800, Captain John Mearse brought "a boat load of (Chinese) to Gold River valley on the west coast of Vancouver"; and this group of persons was said to have established the first Chinese community in British Columbia, despite the fact that they were carried off subsequently as slave labour by the Spanish, for their Mexican mines.⁴

Apart from speculation, however, definite historical immigration begins in 1858, with the discovery of gold in the Fraser Valley. The first Chinese came from California in search of gold. Two years later, they came directly from China and Hong Kong.

The Victoria Colonist reported in 1878, the arrival of the Quickstep, a vessel believed to have carried the largest load of Chinese:

"The barque Quickstep, Capt. Barnsby, 48 days from Hong Kong -- was hauled alongside Rhodes & Co.'s wharf. She brings 400 tons of general merchandise for vessel, a large concourse of people assembled to witness the landing of the Chinamen; as their presence is not desired in our midst, the welcome they received was not of the most flattering nature. Notwithstanding -- the comments passed derogatory to Chinamen as a class, the new arrivals encountered no violence." (The Victoria Colonist, June 7, 1878)

For twenty years after 1858, the numbers of Chinese were relatively low and posed little employment competition. The Chinese were welcomed initially as cheap labourers. However,

42

there were people "influenced by racial prejudice, who disliked the Chinese as soon as they landed."⁵ With the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway (1882-1885), their numbers increased to a few thousands.

For purpose of convenience in discussion, we can roughly divide the Chinese migration to Canada into four periods, as follows:

- (A) 1858 - 1884: The beginning of Chinese migration to Canada.
- (B) 1885 -1923: The highlight of anti-Chinese agitation.
- (C) 1924 - 1947: The exclusion of Chinese immigrants.
- (D) Since 1947 : The limited admission of Chinese immigrants.

(A) 1858-1884: The Beginning of Chinese Migration to Canada

The increase in the numbers of Chinese labourers was due to the demand for workers by the Canadian Pacific Railway; at one time, the C. P. R. during its construction phase, was estimated to have employed about ten thousand Chinese workers.⁶

The increased numbers of Chinese immigrants, coupled with the anti-Chinese movement initiated in California resulted in the first movement of the British Columbia provincial authority against the Chinese in 1872, when a bill was presented in the provincial legislature asking to impose a head tax of fifty dollars per annum upon all Chinese in the province of

British Columbia. This bill was not carried. But in 1875, the legislature passed a bill which denied the Chinese provincial voting rights. Three years later, in 1878, a bill was introduced to prevent the employment of Chinese on provincial works. In addition, every Chinese "over twelve years of age residing in the province should take out a license every three months, paying ten dollars therefor."⁷ Although the bill was passed, it was declared ultra vires by Mr. Justice J. H. Gray of the Supreme Court of British Columbia for violating the Dominion's right of naturalization of aliens.

The following year, however, two successive legislative committees were appointed to inquire into the Chinese question, with the view of preventing further Chinese immigration. One committee estimated the number of Chinese at six thousand and reported that, a) their moral and social condition was degraded; b) they were opposed to assimilation; c) they system of coolie labour defied competition; d) slave labour had a degrading effect wherever it existed.⁸

In the same year, 1879, the Dominion House of Commons appointed a select committee to report on Chinese immigration and labour. With witnesses comprised mainly of senators and members of British Columbia legislature, the Ottawa committee recommended that Chinese immigration ought not to be encouraged and that Chinese labour ought not to be employed on Dominion public works.

In 1880, an Anti-Chinese organisation was formed in British Columbia, with Noah Shakespeare as president (then a

member of Victoria City Council and later a member of Parliament), to lobby against Chinese immigration.

During the period of 1876-1880, a,326 Chinese entered Canada. The Canadian census of 1880-81, recorded a total Chinese population of 4,383, with the following distribution:

Table II

Chinese population in Canada, 1880-81

Province	Numbers
British Columbia	4,350
Ontario	22
Quebec	7
Manitoba	4
Total	4,383

Source: Census of Canada, 1880-81.

During the period of 1880-1884, large numbers of Chinese were brought from China by contract and from the United States to work on the Onderdonk section of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Later, the Chinese also took part in constructing a road from Yale to Prince George. The peak period of the Chinese immigration was 1882-1883, when the demand for labour was greatest; an

estimate placed their number at 15,701. It is believed that many Chinese died in building the tunnels through the Canadian Rockies, and some died from exposure and diseases in the wilderness.¹⁰

In 1883, a British Columbia Order-in-Council charged the Chinese with introducing loathsome diseases and demoralising habits and "evading punishment of crime and payment of taxes"; it was further suggested that they were "a non-assimilation alien race against whom doors should be shut."¹¹ During the same year, Noah Shakespeare moved in the House of Commons to restrict Chinese immigration; he said that, "the whites found it impossible to compete with the Chinese" and that a Chinese "could live like a prince on 15 cents a day while a whiteman could not live on less than one dollar."¹²

British Columbia, the champion of the anti-Chinese movement, passed three more acts in 1884 restricting the Chinese: an annual license tax of ten dollars was imposed on every Chinese over fourteen years of age; Chinese immigration was unlawful; and the Chinese were prohibited from buying land and from diverting water from any stream for agricultural purposes. The first two acts were declared ultra vires and disallowed for imposing differential taxes and for violating the Dominion's rights on immigration.¹³

(B) 1885-1923: The Highlight of Anti-Chinese Agitation

This period marked the zenith of anti-Chinese movement. Numerous petitions from the provincial legislature, labour unions, and the white community, calling for prohibition of Chinese immigration, besieged Parliament. In 1884, a motion was tabled in the House of Commons to this effect; instead, a Royal Commission was appointed to investigate the entire issue of Chinese immigration and to "obtain proof that the principle of restricting Chinese immigration is proper and in the interests of the province and the Dominion."¹⁴ This Commission also inquired into a) the moral consideration which arose from the residence of and contacts between the whites and the Chinese; b) the advisability of restricting immigration. Most witnesses examined admitted that the Chinese had contributed significantly to the community in the areas of mining, farming and railway construction. The Commissioners J. A. Chapleau and J. H. Gray found no proof that the province and other municipalities had incurred expense for the sick and destitute Chinese, and in their opinion, the Chinese were industrious, law-abiding, frugal and honest in their dealings. They found that there were three phases of opinion regarding Chinese immigrants in British Columbia: a) a strongly prejudiced minority who favoured absolute exclusion; b) another minority who regarded anti-Chinese legislation as unnecessary, since the entire affairs was one of economic, depending on

supply and demand of labour; and c) a large majority "who think there should be a moderate restriction, based on police, financial, and sanitary principles, sustained and enforced by stringent local regulations for cleanliness and the preservation of health."¹⁵ This Commission concluded that a) a head tax of ten dollars should be laid upon every Chinese entering Canada; b) a joint tribunal should be established, consisting of the Chinese consul and judges appointed by the Dominion, which would have jurisdiction in all legal matters concerning the Chinese; c) all Chinese should be registered every year; and d) the Chinese domestic service had to be regulated on a pattern similar to the United Kingdom's Agricultural Labour Act. A bill based on the findings of this Commission was passed in 1885 and became the first anti-Chinese law in Canada; the new bill imposed a head tax of fifty dollars on every Chinese immigrant and limited the numbers of Chinese by the ratio of one person for every fifty tons of vessel coming to Canada.

During the period between August 20, 1885 to January 31, 1886, it was estimated that a mere 235 Chinese entered Canada from the United States, while none immigrated directly from China.¹⁶ The people of British Columbia, thinking the act was too generous, inserted a clause in every private act of 1886, prohibiting the employment of Chinese in any work authorized in the act. A Royal Commission reported that, in 1891, there were seventy petitions to the Dominion Parliament from labour unions from Vancouver to Halifax, demanding legislation which would prohibit the

importing of Chinese labour.¹⁷ In the period of 1892-1897, more petitions to Parliament stated that the large influx of Chinese was a serious menace to the prosperity and general welfare of Canada; that the head tax of fifty dollars was inadequate and should be increased tenfold, and that the Chinese, in "moral, social and sanitary" status, were "below the most inferior standard of Western life"; they beseeched Parliament for relief from these existent evils.¹⁸ It is to be noted that there were fifteen opium dens and eleven bars in Victoria's Chinatown in 1883.¹⁹

The population figures for the year 1891 revealed the following increases:

Table III

Chinese Population in Canada, 1891

Province	Numbers
British Columbia	8,910
Ontario	97
Quebec	36
Manitoba	31
New Brunswick	8
Nova Scotia	5
Prince Edward Island	1
The Territories	41
Total	9,129

Source: Census of Canada, 1891.

Because of constant agitation and petition, Prime Minister Laurier introduced a bill in June, 1900, which would increase the head tax to one hundred dollars; it carried.²⁰ British Columbia denounced the bill as ineffective; the Dominion conceded and established a Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese immigration in 1902. The commissioners R. C. Clute, Ralph Smith (later replaced by Christopher Foley) and Daniel James Munn found that the presence of the Chinese had been seriously detrimental to the white settlements, since the industry of market gardening was entirely in the hands of the Chinese. The Commission admitted that the Chinese had contributed to the agricultural development of the province, but went on to state that the head tax was ineffective, suggesting in its place the complete prohibition of Chinese immigration, along with an increase in the head tax to five hundred dollars. Based on the findings of this Commission, Prime Minister Laurier introduced and carried a bill to amend the Chinese Immigration Act of 1900, providing for a head tax of five hundred dollars and the limitation of Chinese immigrants to one for every tons of vessels.²¹

The imposition of the head tax on the Chinese can be put in an historical dimension as follows:

Table IV

The Amount of Head Tax Imposed on the
Chinese Immigrants to Canada, 1884-1904

Year	Amount of tax
1884	\$10
1885	\$50
1900	\$100
1904	\$500

Source: 1. Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration, Ottawa, 1885.
2. Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration, Ottawa, 1902.
3. Statute of Canada, Chapter 8, 1903.

The bill became law on January 1, 1904 and from that date to June, 1907, only 121 Chinese entered Canada. The increase in the head tax effectively killed the indentured labour system (whereby labour agencies or contractors paid passage and head tax in return for repayment over extended periods of labour), since it would now be a great risk to pay five hundred dollars in advance for labourers and the "economic inducement for immigration had been swept away."²² Cheng Tien-fang remarked that, "who would pay such an amount as \$500 to become a labourer in a foreign land."²³ Liang Chi-cha'o, a monarchist reformer, came to British Columbia in 1903, and noted that there were at this time 37 gambling dens; and most Chinese were employed in cooking, laundry, mining, lumbering or fishing. He also remarked that there were 5,000 illegal immigrants to the United States via

Vancouver and Victoria and this was organised by secret agents.²⁴

The Canadian census of 1901 estimated the Chinese population at 17,312. However, the Royal Commission of 1902 recorded a total number of 16,792; and the pattern of distribution was as follows:

Table V

The Chinese Population in Canada, 1902

Provinces	Numbers
British Columbia	14,376
Ontario	712
Quebec	1,044
Manitoba	206
New Brunswick	57
Nova Scotia	104
Prince Edward Island	4
Territories	287
Total	16,792

Source: Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration, Ottawa, 1902.

A change seemed to have occurred in immigration patterns during the period of July, 1907 to March, 1908, in which 1,482 Chinese entered Canada. The Canadian authorities were obviously alarmed, for a Royal Commission was again appointed in 1908 to investigate the situation, in particular, the method by which Oriental labour was introduced into Canada. In his Report in

1908, W. L. Mackenzie King explained that the head tax did not attain its supposed aim; the Chinese could receive better wages, after the imposition of the heavy tax which created the labour shortage, and, with better economic conditions, the landed Chinese could bring in relatives and friends, even lending them money to pay the head tax.²⁵ Mackenzie King also noted that the immigration law should not produce a "fundamental alternations in the character of Canada's population."

On August 12, 1907, the Asiatic Exclusion League was formed in Vancouver with the explicit purpose of nurturing anti-Asiatic sentiment. In September of the same year, the news of the impending arrival of a large number of Japanese and East Indians precipitated the organisation of a protest parade to City Hall by the League; the protest went out of control, and marchers rampaged through the Chinese and Japanese quarters, smashing windows and badly damaging some shops. The Chinese and Japanese armed themselves for the expected attack of the next day, but the situation cooled off.

As a consequence of these riots, a Commission of Inquiry was appointed in 1908 to investigate the losses sustained by the Chinese population of Vancouver. W. L. Mackenzie King found that the total loss, both actual and resultant, including the damage to properties, the losses incurred by the Chinese Board of Trade and the loss consequent upon suspension of business and for damage to windows, signs, glass and others, came to be a total of \$25,990.²⁶ He was surprised by the presentation of claims by two opium manufacturers for \$609 each, on account of

loss of business for six days; he also learned about opium factories in Victoria and New Westminster. All of these factories did extensive business and there was not a single law to prohibit the importation of crude opium.²⁷

During the period of 1910-1911, there were 4,515 immigrants. The Dominion, under the pressure of British Columbia, appointed Mr. Justice Murphy in May, 1911, to investigate the situation and also the administration of the Chinese Immigration Act. He reported that there existed in Vancouver ample opportunity for the illegal entry of Chinese and for smuggling of opium; many Chinese were admitted as merchants or as merchants' sons, while they were really neither. (According to the Act of 1903, merchants and their families could enter without taxation) Murphy's Report was not made public; and he recommended the prosecution of a Chinese interpreter and the Collector of Customs for committing fraud in the administration of Chinese Immigration Law.²⁸

According to Cheng's estimate, the Chinese immigration figures for the years following 1910 were as follows:²⁹

Table VI

The Numbers of Chinese Immigrants Entering Canada, 1910-1920

Period	Numbers
1910-11	4,515
1911-12	6,083
1912-13	7,078
1913-14	5,274
1914-15	1,155
1915-16	22
1916-17	272
1917-18	650
1918-19	4,066
1919-20	363
Total	29,478

Source: Cheng Tien-fang, Oriental Migration to Canada, Shanghai, 1931, pp.73-85.

In 1911, all matters concerning the Chinese immigration was transferred to the Department of Interior. Some Chinese labourers were used as strike breakers in a coal mine strike in August, 1913 on the Vancouver Island.³⁰ In June, 1917, Parliament passed a bill amending the Chinese Immigration Act, allowing the arrest without warrant of any Chinese suspected of illegally entering Canada; furthermore, any person apprehended in this fashion could be deported if the magistrate so decided.³¹ The Dominion Franchise Bill of 1920 excluded the Chinese from voting privileges in British Columbia and Saskatchewan.³² In yet another Federal Bill, of May, 1921, a Board of Inquiry was given the power to order the deportation of any Chinese illegally residing in Canada and to assure themselves that those entering under the category of "exempted class" established their identity to the satisfaction of the Controller of Immigration, instead of producing a certificate of identity issued by Chinese officials and visaed by British Consuls.³³ Later, in 1923, the Acting Minister of Immigration Charles Stewart called for a more stringent immigration policy. He suggested that, all Chinese must enter Canada either through Vancouver or Victoria; that all Chinese must register in default of which a fine of five hundred dollars or a year or more imprisonment would be imposed; that clergymen, tourists, and scientists should be excluded and that no vessel could carry one Chinese immigrant for every two hundred and fifty tons of ship. Although Chinese in all parts of Canada protested this measure, a bill to the same effect was passed by the

House of Commons in the same year.

Following the lead of British Columbia, other provinces initiated discriminatory legislation. Saskatchewan revised its Election Act in 1909 to exclude persons of Chinese origin from voting in provincial elections.³⁴ In 1912, a further act was passed in Saskatchewan, prohibiting Chinese employers of restaurants, laundries and other businesses from hiring white girls; in 1920, this act was amended to securing a special license for this purpose.³⁵

In 1914, the Ontario legislature also passed an act preventing the hiring of white girls by Chinese employers.³⁶ Quebec, in 1915, legalised an increase in license fees on laundries, a measure obviously directed against the Chinese.³⁷ The assembly of Nova Scotia passed a resolution in 1924, to prohibit the employment of Chinese as ship labourers, citing such practices as unfair to Canadian labourers and detrimental to the best interests of the province.³⁸

(C) 1924-1947: The Exclusion of Chinese Immigrants

Amendment of the Chinese Immigration Act in 1923, barring all Chinese from entering Canada appeared to be effective, for during this period of twenty-four years, only forth-four Chinese entered Canada. The Chinese regarded the Canadian National Day

of July 1st as a day of degradation for the Chinese; and protested the prohibition law vigorously but to no effect. The numbers of Chinese immigrants entering Canada during this period was as follows:

Table VII

The Numbers of Chinese Immigrants
entering Canada, 1924-1947.

Year	Numbers
1924	7
1925	0
1926	0
1927	2
1928	1
1929	1
1930	0
1931	0
1932	1
1933	1
1934	1
1935	0
1936	0
1937	1
1938	0
1939	0
1940	0
1941	0
1942	0
1943	0
1944	0
1945	0
1946	8
1947	21
Total	44

Source: Lee, David Tung Hai (ed), A Special publication to commemorate the 75th Anniversary of the Chinese Benevolent Association and Chinese Public School in Victoria, 1960, pp. 54-56.

As was often the case with the earliest phases of most immigrant communities, the sex-ratio in the Chinese community was imbalanced. According to the Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese of 1902, there were no Chinese women in many towns and villages, and in Vancouver, there were 2,053 males and only 27 females; all these 27 women were married -- sixteen to merchants, eight to labourers, one to a minister, and two to interpreters. Because of the imbalanced sex-ratio, the Canadian census of 1961 reported only 1,351 Canadian-born Chinese.

During this period, there seems to have been no anti-Chinese legislation passed either by the Federal Government or by the British Columbia legislature. Attention was focused on the Second World War; for both the Chinese community and the Canadian government were absorbed with thoughts of the Japanese invasion of China. In 1927 and 1933, the Chinese Benevolent Association of Victoria presented their grievances concerning discriminatory legislation to the representatives from China attending

the Pacific Academic Conference held in Honolulu, asking them to discuss such legislation at the conference. During this period, the Canadian Chinese were active in boycotting Japanese goods and in raising fund for the flood and war victims in China. A few hundred Chinese joined the army in 1941. In 1946, the Chinese in Toronto and Victoria organised themselves to protest what they called the unjust and inhuman immigration law.

Before 1946, the only political party to campaign for Oriental enfranchisement had been the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. Both the "Liberal and Conservative candidates in

British Columbia denounced the C. C. F. for its stand on behalf of granting the votes to the Orientals."⁴²

(D) Since 1947: The Limited Admission of Chinese Immigrants

The post-war humanistic movement in Canada toward the elimination of discrimination based on race, creed and colour and the provisions of human rights in the charter of United Nations seem to have changed the Canadian attitude toward the Chinese.⁴³ The repeal of the Chinese Immigration Law of 1923 on May 6, 1947 brought great changes to the Canadian Chinese community. For the first time since 1885, the Chinese could bring their wives and children to Canada without considering the head tax or over the tonnage of the vessel. They had come a long way from hostility and prejudice exerted by the larger society to gradual acceptance. In an era when even prominent clergymen and labour union leaders were inciting riots against the "yellow-skinned vermin"⁴⁴, it is certainly enlightening to see the removal of such a discriminatory measure against a member of the human family as a whole.

Bills were passed in 1947 and in 1949 to enfranchise the Chinese. The Canadian Citizenship Act of 1947 allows the Chinese to be naturalized. It was estimated that during the period between 1947 to 1959, a total of 22,607 Chinese were naturalized in Canada.⁴⁵ The Chinese Benevolent Association in Vancouver

had agitated for human treatment for the Chinese immigrants and had sent several petitions to Ottawa for such purposes in 1948, 1951 and again in 1954.

It was not uncommon formerly for a Chinese immigrant to maintain his family in China and apply for the admission of his spouse and children after he had established his economic position in Canada. In terms of the 1947 Act, children allowed to enter Canada had to be unmarried and under twenty-one years of age. However, the age for admission for children was raised to twenty-one years in 1950; and was further increased to twenty-five years of age in 1951. This was the result of a petition by the Chinese Benevolent Association to Ottawa that the children should have been allowed to come at the age of twenty-one in 1947, so by 1951, their ages have increased to twenty-five years. The age of the children was reversed to twenty-years in 1955; the father was allowed to come if he was over sixty-five years old and the mother, over sixty years. In 1958, the age of the children was raised to twenty-one years again. In Canada's Immigration Policy, David C. Corbett maintained that in 1957, there was still one remaining legal discrimination against Asian residents of Canada. While Canadian residents of other races could sponsor their relatives as immigrants, Asians had to become citizens first before they were allowed such privileges.⁴⁶ In 1963, women were allowed to apply for admission of their fiances.

Since 1947, the numbers of Chinese entering Canada have been increasing. According to an estimation by David Lee, the

numbers of the Chinese coming each year were as follows:⁴⁷

Table VIII

The Numbers of Chinese Immigrants
Entering Canada, 1947 - 1966

Years	Numbers
1947	21
1948	33
1949	734
1950	1,746
1951	2,708
1952	2,320
1953	1,936
1954	1,636
1955	2,535
1956	2,093
1957	1,662
1958	2,615
1959	2,561
1960	861
1961	894
1962	876
1963	1,571
1964	3,210
1965	5,234
1966	4,094
Total	

Source: Lee, David T. H., A History of Chinese in Canada, Taipei: Hai Tien Publishing Co., 1967, pp.420-421.

It is to be noted that in 1965, the Chinese came in great numbers, 5,232, as contrasted to the peak year in 1912 with a record of 6,083 immigrants.

In 1950, a new Department of Citizenship and Immigration was created for the regulation and Canadianization of the newly

arrived immigrants. The policy pursued by the Department in 1962 based primarily on the criteria of education, training and skills for the selection of immigrants without regard to race and national origin.

There were rumours in May, 1960 that 10,000 Chinese had entered Canada illegally. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police together with their specially trained Hong Kong policemen searched the records of the Chinese associations, and conducted intensive investigations of the members of the Chinese families. This led to fear, anger and unhappiness in the Chinese community. There were protests from the Chinese across the country for defamation and for harrassment of the Chinese community. An amnesty program was instituted in 1962 whereby the illegal entrants can rectify their status by confession and cooperation with the authorities. This was said to prevent exploitation by racketeers who threaten to expose the illegal immigrants. Apparently, there were some entrants who longed for family reunion in Canada and who were unable to come under the present immigration regulation, resorted to illegal means.

It was reported that some Chinese came by buying fictitious birth certificates. It seems that some old immigrants returned to China and later reported to the Canadian authorities that a child had been born to him. He could then sell the certificate for U. S. \$100 per year of age. However, not every registered birth was false.

Some entered Canada by claiming to be children of a widow whom an immigrant married on his return to China. However, after

admission, they scattered all over the country and "disappeared" for both the marriage and their names were fictitious.

The "paper families" dilemma has caused anxiety both to the Chinese community and to the Canadian authorities. It is hoped that with a more standardized immigration policy and humane treatment, the problem of illegal entrants will be solved.

In 1961, the larger numbers of Chinese still concentrated in British Columbia, Ontario, Alberta and Quebec. The burgeoning Chinese settlements are found in Vancouver, Victoria, Toronto, Edmonton and Calgary. However, the sex-ratio among the Chinese-Canadians is still unbalanced. In 1961, there were a total of 36,075 males as contrasted to 22,122 females; and the male per 1,000 females was 1,631.

According to the Canadian census of 1961, the distribution of the Chinese population in Canada was as follows:

Table IX

Chinese Population in Canada, by Provinces, 1881-1961

Provinces	Years								
	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	
Newfoundland	--	--	--	--	--	--	186	445	
Prince Ed. Isl.	--	4	6	14	31	45	35	43	
New Brunswick	--	59	93	185	231	152	146	274	
Nova Scotia	--	106	137	315	340	372	516	637	
Quebec	7	1,037	1,579	2,335	2,750	2,378	1,904	4,749	
Ontario	22	732	2,767	5,625	6,919	6,143	6,997	15,155	
Manitoba	4	206	885	1,331	1,732	1,248	1,175	1,936	
Saskatchewan	--	41	971	2,667	3,501	2,545	2,144	3,660	
Alberta	--	235	1,792	3,581	3,875	3,122	3,451	6,937	
British Columbia	4,350	14,885	19,601	23,533	27,139	18,619	15,933	24,227	
NW Territories	--	--	--	--	--	3	4	34	
Yukon	--	7	--	1	1	--	37	100	

Source: Census of Canada, 1961.

In Land of Choice: the Hungarians of Canada, John Kosa

spelled out that one person out of seven in Canada is an immigrant.⁴⁸ From the historical presentation above, we note that the Chinese have suffered discrimination and "racial persecution". They were accused of working for starvation wages while denying them union protection; they were accused of remitting money back home while their families were prohibited from coming. The power-holders of the majority seemed to use whatever rationale to justify their discriminatory policies. Certainly, the inhuman and prejudicial policies have had far-ranging consequences and repercussions on Chinese social life, adjustment, family patterns and community structure in Canada.

(II) Chinese Migration to Alberta⁴⁹

After the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Chinese made their way to other parts of Canada, especially to Toronto and Montreal, in search of a livelihood. Some of them settled in cities and towns and set up restaurants, grocery stores and laundries. Some were engaged in market gardening and domestic services. The extension of the Canadian Pacific Railway north to

Edmonton facilitated the migration of the Chinese to the prairie provinces from British Columbia.

It was reported in September, 1885, that there was one Chinese in Lethbridge (MacLeod Gazette) and other in Medicine Hat in 1887 (Medicine Hat Times, May 7, 1887). One Chinese laundryman settled in Edmonton in 1889. One group of Chinese labourers came to work on the railway in Calgary in 1901. Some stayed to open restaurants and some worked as cooks.

In order to construct a brief early history of the Chinese in Alberta, I will use the following categories:

- Anti-Oriental Riots in Alberta
- Political Controversy
- Economic Competition
- Social Conditions
- Population Trend

(A) Anti-Oriental Riots in Alberta

The attitude of Albertans regarding the early Chinese was apparently affected by the anti-Oriental movement in British Columbia. In 1885, The Calgary Herald reported that the only way to solve the Chinese problem was to boycott Chinese labour and the Chinese would soon leave. (February 26, 1885) A letter to the Medicine Hat Times in 1887 encouraged the residents to shun the Chinamen and to treat them as "mad dogs" and to throw them into the Saskatchewan River. (May 7, 1887)

During the period of 1890 to early 1900's, there were

one hundred Chinese in Calgary, the majority of them staying in the row of shacks at Tenth Avenue West, owning "chop-suey" houses and working as labourers. News that the Chinese spread the small-pox in July, 1892 intensified the hostility of Calgarians against the Chinese. It appeared that the Calgary Board of Health ordered the release of four or five Chinamen who had been quarantined for small pox, a large group of men gathered to hunt for them; and they raided the Chinese shacks and maltreated the Chinese. (Calgary Herald, August 3, 1892) On August 8, 1892, the Edmonton Bulletin reported that the whole Northwest of Canada had been kept in a state of anxiety by the Chinamen who brought a small pox epidemic into Calgary and the "others (Chinamen) concealed it for weeks." It stated further that the Chinese did "more harm than good" and that "Canada should follow the good example of the United States and bar Chinamen."

On August 10, 1892, seven or eight ring-leaders were joined by a large following of about three hundred men in Calgary; and they proceeded to wreck the Chinese laundries. All the "irmates" in the laundries "fled for their life"; and the "irmates who were upstairs gambling, escaped through a back window by jumping to the ground." The mob subsequently "wrecked the Chinese laundries" and the "pig-tailed Chinamen" escaped only with their carcasses. Some of the mob "had taken \$18 from Sam, a Chinaman, and the other, Shing Lee, claimed to have lost \$280 which he had tied up in a handkerchief"; later, "Joe George's place was set on fire but (it) was extinguished."

During the course of the event, "none of the policemen could be found." (Lethbridge News, August 10, 1892) The Edmonton Bulletin reported that a Chinaman was found the next day in a starving condition. He left town "after being frightened by the action of the mob. Though he had money, he could neither buy or beg a mouthful to eat from the settlers." (August 11, 1892)

Later, Locksley Lucas, the secretary of the anti-Chinese League from the West Coast visited Calgary and the Mayor of Calgary organised a branch of the anti-Chinese League in the City. (Calgary Herald, August 17, 1892)

Anti-Oriental rioting also broke out in Lethbridge. On Christmas night, 1907, the "insolence of a customer in the Columbia restaurant led to an attempt by the Chinese owner to evict him"; later, there was a false rumour that the "man was killed by the Chinese with a hammer." This led to attacks on the Chinese and their restaurants. The Chinese laundries were destroyed by the mob. (Lethbridge Herald, 1908)

(B) Political Controversy

The question of Chinese votes was discussed in October, 1907, when the Albertan Government was advised to pass legislation to "make it impossible for a Chinese or a Japanese to vote." The Lethbridge Herald reported that the "yellow must be made to understand we are not going to allow them to secure any

influence in our affairs. They have no right to compete with white labour and neither have they any right to compete with white votes." (October 17, 1907) It further stated that "we do not want people without our ideas of civilization, without our ideas of government, and without our aspirations as a province and a nation to bear any part in the election of our representatives", and "we have enough poor stuff in the voting class now." (October 24, 1907)

The Federal election in 1908-1909 prompted some discussions on the Chinese votes. The Coleman Miner reported that the "Conservatives stand for white Canada. This is what John Herron stands for or that is what Canada will get when Mr. Borden is returned to power this fall. There will be no over-running by Mongolians." It stated further that, "Is Canada (to) remain under the control of white races or are we to see, first British Columbia and then Alberta and thereafter the whole fair Dominion invaded by hordes of Chinese and Japanese? Are we to see Canada overrun by the Mongolians who work for starvation wages?" (September 11, 1908) In its editorial of September 18, 1908, The Coleman Miner emphasized that John Herron at the last Federal election was not elected by the Chinese votes. Herron "preferred to be left at home rather than (be) elected by a Chinese vote."

The Lethbridge Herald, on the other hand, clarified the position of the Liberal Party. The Conservatives in Southern Alberta were "alleged to have naturalized the Chinese and placed on the voting list 77 Chinamen"; the Herald reiterated that the Liberal party had not in this election, "nor in that of the

last October, endeavoured to get Chinese votes. The Chinese vote did not go solid for Simmons, (since) there was only one Chinaman who voted and he voted conservative. Neither Mr. Buchanan nor any supporters tried to get the Chinese votes. In fact, both Mr. Simmons last fall and Mr. Buchanan in this campaign have requested their supporters to leave the Chinese vote strictly alone, as they did not want it." (Lethbridge Herald, March 20, 1909)

(C) Economic Competition

It was reported that in 1882, the mining work at Macleod was mostly carried out by the Chinamen. (Macleod Gazette, October 4, 1882) As early as 1885, some people were concerned that Chinese immigrants would throw the white labourers out of work. (a letter to the editor of the Calgary Herald, March 5, 1885) The Chinese were said to be enterprising and were not confining their activities to the laundry business; they opened a "rice-mill and canning factory"; and this was a "surprise and a shock to some preconceptions of the Caucasians." (Medicine Hat Times, September 17, 1891) One resident in Macleod in 1898 wrote that the most important issue facing Macleod was the Chinese question. The Chinese "were displacing half-breed and white cooks and were hurting community projects through

their isolation from the community affairs"; and he suggested to "boycott Chinese merchants whenever possible." (Macleod Gazette, December 23, 1898) The editors of the Calgary Herald attacked the Chinese in 1899 for forcing the other restaurants out of business and for "white slavery". (March 2, 1899)

The methods used by the Chinese gardeners in fertilizing their crops were the target of attack in Lethbridge in 1902. The editor of the Lethbridge News quoted a letter by a physician in British Columbia "who had investigated the cause of typhoid in Victoria and reported that the Chinese not only had the disgusting practices of keeping pigs in the gardens but also used urine for the fertilization and whitening of vegetables." The News stated that, "in the name of decency, in the name of civilization, what whitemen and womenfolk (would) think of eating vegetables freely sprinkled and whitened by the revolting filthy methods of those Chinese gardeners, even should they be boiled for a century. For years, the residents of Lethbridge had been subjected to the unspeakable degradation of eating food so defiled by Chinamen that a self-respecting farmer would not offer it to his hogs." (Lethbridge News, April 3, 1902)

In 1903, the Municipal authorities at Revelstoke required all Chinese laundries to be in a certain prescribed area in the town. The building must have certain accommodation and drainage systems. In doing ironing, "sprinkling (by) mouth was prohibited." (Calgary Herald, June 11, 1903) The Town Council of Lethbridge passed a bylaw in 1905, confining the Chinese laundries within certain boundaries. This was because the Chinese washermen hung

signs on the streets and thus lessened the value of the nearby properties. (Lethbridge Herald, May 17, 1906)

Because of prejudicial attitudes and legal discrimination, the early Chinese did not make much advancement in their economic pursuits. Not until after the Second World War when there was a growing interest in Chinese cuisine and a gradual acceptance of the Chinese, did they seem to achieve some success in restaurant businesses.

(D) Social Conditions

The whites had a misconception and misunderstanding of the early Chinese in Alberta. They were regarded as being immoral and their social institutions and customs were peculiar and undesirable. The Edmonton Bulletin reported that in 1892, the Celestials from the "kingdom of teeming millions in the Far East" brought along their peculiar institutions to Canada; and thought "only of piling up enough hard cash to enable them to return to their own country." (Edmonton Bulletin, May 23, 1892)

The early Chinese did carry on their traditional way of life and custom in the new society; the Lethbridge News reported the celebration of the Chinese New Year on February 18, 1904. The Calgary residents were said to be delighted by a Chinese parade

and the Coleman residents were fascinated by a Chinese funeral.
(Coleman Bulletin, May 19, 1916)

There was a series of offences committed by the early Chinese. In 1893, Chung Yan of the "Chinese laundry was brought before Mayor McCauley on a charge of depositing hot ashes in (close) proximity to a building, (causing) a fire at Howey's stable. He was fined \$5." (Edmonton Bulletin, March 27, 1893)

The Chinese were considered as vicious and licentious. Lashes were administered to a Chinaman for indecent assault on a young child. (Calgary Herald, December 25, 1889) They were constantly arrested for committing offences in gambling and for frequenting the houses of ill-fame. The police raided several "chink" gambling dens in Lethbridge and "caught" some Chinamen playing "Fan-tan". (Lethbridge Herald, October 14, 1908) Eleven Celestials were charged with being "inmates of a disorderly house" and were found guilty and fined. (Lethbridge Herald, December 17, 1908) A Chinese Gee Lee was found guilty of living on proceeds of a white woman and the public was disallowed to listen to the case. (Lethbridge Herald, December 18, 1908) Another Chinese, Hong Lee, was tried and fined for "having intoxicating liquor for sale without a license." (Lethbridge Herald, March 24, 1909) The Chinese were at times being charged for opium abuse (Calgary Herald, March 16, 1934) and for possessing opium. (Calgary Albertan, November 12, 1934)

In 1909, a certain proprietor at Ford street received a letter threatening death and the "whole Chink colony" was said to be "in a state of excitement". The threat was sent to him by

a Chinese secret society known as "Wah Hip Tong". The Wah Hip Tong was as much feared in the Chinese community as "the Black Hand society in the Italian communities." (Lethbridge News, February 12, 1909)

The Calgary Chinatown was depicted as overcrowded and filthy. The buildings occupied by the Chinese were in an "abominably filthy condition". (Calgary Herald, October 17, 1898) The rows of shacks in Chinatown were "partitioned off in narrow sections and these sections are again partitioned off in infinitesimal rooms" and "almost every room in the building held Chinamen, talking, gambling, smoking and sleeping." There were "fan-tan tables" and "all that the Chinamen appeared to have left to do was to smoke their water pipes, opium pipes and cigarettes." (Calgary Herald, September 22, 1909) There was a fire in Calgary Chinatown in 1912. Later, as Calgary grew and developed, the Town Council decided to move the Chinatown to its present site at Center street near the Bow River. The Calgary Central Labour Union condemned the Chinese laundries as a menace to health; and the Calgary Herald demanded that the Chinese laundries be cleared in order to avoid epidemic. (May 4, 1905)

The Lethbridge Chinatown was said to have been established in 1910 around Second Avenue south. Most of the Chinese were said to work in the laundries, restaurants and market gardening; and there were about "twenty-five Chinese (who) went through in horse-drawn wagons, selling vegetables door to door."⁵⁰

It appeared that the Empire Reform Association was formed in Alberta about 1911; for a proprietor of a Chinese restaurant

was said to have been connected with the association; and he was "public-spirited and progressive in his citizenship." (Medicine Hat Times, February 1, 1911)

In Lethbridge, the Chinese "organised a revolutionary Republican Party" in 1915. The "flag of the Chinese Republic floated over the party headquarters on Second Avenue and over 100 Chinamen are celebrating the occasion of its organisation"; and there were "several eminent Chinamen from Calgary, Medicine Hat and other cities." The "party's aim was to overthrow the Royalist faction in China." (Lethbridge Herald, June 7, 1915)

The Chinese National League was formed in Calgary in 1910; and "Ernest Y. Dong served as the secretary of the League and C. Y. George as a member of the executive Board." (Calgary Albertan, March 31, 1920)

In 1935, the Calgary branch organised a convention "where delegates from Edmonton, Lethbridge, Kamloops, Vancouver, Winnipeg and Montreal assembled." (Calgary Herald, August 27, 1935)

From this early brief history, we note that the Chinese were not welcomed and were persecuted to a certain extent by the larger society. There was mistrust and suspicion about the Chinese. The Albertan government has certainly come a long way to pass a Human Rights Act in its Legislature in 1966, discouraging discrimination with regard to race, religious beliefs, colour, ancestry and place of birth.

(B) Population Trend

The Chinese population in Alberta has steadily increased over recent years, due partly to natural increase and largely to migration after the Second World War when the Chinese Immigration Law of 1923 was repealed. The 1961 Canadian census reported a total Chinese population of 6,937 in Alberta as contrasted to 1,787 in 1911. The numbers of Chinese immigrants to Alberta from 1962 to 1968 was recorded as 1,661.⁵¹ My informants however, note that there are now about 5,000 Chinese in Edmonton and a comparable number in Calgary. The 1961 figures plus the Chinese immigration figure between 1962 to 1968 came to a total Chinese population of 8,598 in 1968 in Alberta. This disparity could be an underenumeration by the census or an exaggeration by my informants. Most of the Chinese are urban dwellers and their urban percentage is among the highest of the various ethnic groups in Canada.

Table X

The Chinese Population Trend in Alberta,
1911- 1961

	Year					
	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Total Chinese	1,787	3,581	3,211	3,122	3,451	6,937

Source:

Census of Canada, 1941, 1951 and 1961.

Table XI

Numbers of Chinese Immigrants to Alberta
1960-1968

	Year								
Numbers of immigrants	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
	130	54	31	12	7	8	333	511	759

Source:

Immigration Statistics, Canadian Immigration Division of the Department of Manpower and Immigration, Ottawa, nos. 1960-1968.

Table XII

Distribution of Chinese in Alberta, by sex, 1961

Alberta	Total Chinese	Male	Female
	6,937	4,312	2,625
Edmonton	1,805	1,092	713
Calgary	2,232	1,393	839
Lethbridge	413	259	154
Lethbridge Municipal Sub.	17	11	6
Red Deer	214	136	78
Red Deer Municipal Sub.	4	2	2
Medicine Hat	171	114	57
Forest Lawn	35	19	16
Jasper Place	97	55	42
Leduc(Municipal)	1	0	1
Rockey View	9	7	2
Municipal Strathcona			
Municipal Sturgeon county	5	2	3
no.15 Municipal	28	23	5

Source:

Census of Canada, 1961.

In the above, we have reviewed briefly the history of Chinese migration to Canada, with special reference to Alberta. Legal, political, economic, social and demographic aspects of the Chinese migration have also been considered. In general, we have seen the imposition of discriminatory legislation on the Chinese to the removal of inhuman immigration law after the Second World War. We also note the spread of Chinese population to other provinces of Canada after the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Economically, the Chinese, over the century, have emerged from coolie and unskilled labourers class to be owners and employees of restaurants and grocery stores.

With gradual awareness of their political rights as citizens of Canada, the Chinese will exert their demand for equal treatment and privileges. It is envisaged that, in time to come, the Chinese will play an increasingly important role in the Canadian society.

Chapter IV -- Footnotes

1

Lee, David T. H., A History of Chinese in Canada, Taipei, Hai Tien Publishing Co., 1967, pp.26. (in Chinese)

2

ibid, pp.27

3

ibid, pp.29

4

Chinese Directory, Edmonton and Northern Alberta, 1957 - 1958, Chinese Publicity Bureau, Vancouver, British Columbia, pp.16-17; and Lyman, Stanford, "The Chinese in the United States: A Brief History", University of California, Berkeley, Vol. I (5), 1969, pp.2.

5

Cheng, Tien-fang, Oriental Immigration in Canada, Shanghai, The Commercial Press, 1931, pp.37.

6

ibid, pp.175.

7

ibid, pp.40.

8

ibid, pp.41.

9

ibid, pp.43.

10

Chinese Yearbook: British Columbia Mainland, 1965-1966, Chinese-Canadian Press, Vancouver, British Columbia, pp.8.

11

Cheng, op. cit., pp.47. (quoted from the sessional papers, British Columbia, 1883).

12

ibid, pp.48.

13

ibid, pp.49-50.

14

Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration, Ottawa, 1885, pp.viii-ix.

- 15
ibid, pp. CLL.
- 16
Cheng, op. cit., pp. 61-62.
- 17
Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration, Ottawa, 1902, pp.1.
- 18
ibid, pp.2.
- 19
Lee, Doe Chuen, (ed) Inside the Chinese Benevolent Association: A Report of Some Activities of the Highest Body of the Chinese in Canada, Taipei: Yenching Publishing House, 1969, pp.8.
- 20
Cheng, op. cit., pp.66.
- 21
Statutes of Canada, 1903, Chpater 8.
- 22
Mackenzie King, W. L., Report of the Royal Commission on the methods by which Oriental Labour had been introduced to Canada, Ottawa, 1908, pp. 70-71.
- 23
Cheng, op. cit., pp.71.
- 24
Liang, Chi-ch'ao., Hsin Ta Lu Yu Chi (新大陸遊記), A Travelling Account of North America), Shanghai, The Commercial Press, 1922.
- 25
Cheng, op.cit., pp. 73; and The Report of the Royal Commission by which Oriental Labour had been Introduced to Canada, op. cit., pp.71-72.
- 26
Mackenzie King, W. L., Losses sustained by the Chinese Population of Vancouver, British Columbia, Ottawa, 1908, pp. 11-13.
- 27
ibid, pp. 15.
- 28
Mr. Justice Murphy's Report on the Administration of Chinese Immigration Law, Debates, House of Commons, July 21, 1911, pp.9836-9838.

- 29
Cheng, op. cit., pp. 78-85.
- 30
ibid., pp. 79-81.
- 31
Statutes of Canada, 1917, Chapter 7.
- 32
Statutes of Canada, 1920, Chapter 46, section 30.
- 33
Statutes of Canada, 1921, Chapter 21.
- 34
Revised Statutes of Saskatchewan, 1909, Chapter 3, section 11.
- 35
Statutes of Saskatchewan, 1912, Chapter 19; and Female Labour Act, 1912-1913 and Revised Statutes of Saskatchewan, 1920, Chapter 185.
- 36
Statutes of Ontario, 1914, Chapter 40.
- 37
Statutes of Quebec, 1915, Chapter 22 and the Laundry Act.
- 38
Cheng, op. cit., pp. 104.
- 39
Lee, Doe Chuan, op. cit., pp. 9-12.
- 40
Lee, David T. H., A special publication to Commemorate the 75th Anniversary of the Chinese Benevolent Association and Chinese Public School in Victoria, 1960.
- 41
ibid., pp. 54-56.
- 42
Lyman, Stanfrod, "Position and Prospects of Oriental since World War II", Radio Talk, British Columbia, March 12, 1962, pp. 12.
- 43
Kung, S. W., "Chinese Immigration to North America", Queen's Quarterly, Vol. LXVIII(4), winter, 1961, pp. 617.
- 44
Moxley, Alan, Vancouver: from Milltown to Metropolis, Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1961, pp. 936.

45

Kung, S. W., op. cit., pp.614.

46

Corbett, David, Canada's Immigration Policy, University of Toronto Press, 1957, pp. 196.

47

Lee, David T. H., op. cit., pp. 420-421.

48

Kosa, John, Land of Choice: the Hungarians in Canada, University of Toronto Press, 1954, pp.3.

49

I have discussed this section of the work extensively with Howard Palmer, a graduate student at York University. We have borrowed each other's notes and might have been influencing each other's ideas on this.

50

Palmer, Howard, "Gold Rush lures Chinese Settlers", Lethbridge Herald, November 11, 1967.

51

Immigration Statistics, Canadian Immigration Division of the Department of Manpower and Immigration, Ottawa, nos. 1960 - 1968.

Chapter V

A CHINESE COMMUNITY IN THE CANADIAN PRAIRIES

(A) The Ecological Pattern of Settlement

Chinatown, my Chinatown

Chinatown, my Chinatown,
Where the lights are low;
Hearts that know no other land,
Drifting to and fro;
Dreamy, dreamy Chinatown,
Almond eyes of brown;
Hearts seem light,
And life seems bright,
In dreamy Chinatown.

(Popular music, composed
by Jean Schwartz; and
sung by Gertrude Lawrence)

In most of the major cities in Canada, there are pockets of subcultures which serve as networks and communication centers for immigrants of various ethnic groups for mutual needs and assistance. The grouping of a particular ethnic group together in the alien environment may provide a sense of security and

familiarity. It is the place where the newly arrived immigrants can be helped to adjust to new ways, to make contacts, to seek work, to find new friends and to meet their general socio-economic needs. This is the emergence of ethnic communities or ghettos settlements in North America. Some of these settlements are called Little China, or Little Hong Kong, Little Tokyo, Little Italy, Mexican Quarter, Harlems and Little Poland.

The rise of Chinatowns in Canada can be seen as a result of earlier racial and occupational discrimination, also as a result of the adaptation of the Chinese social and cultural organisations in an overseas setting. Chinatown is the place where the Chinese carry out most of their social, economic and ethnic activities. They create a self-contained community where they can have their own organisations and maintain some degrees of social life together.

In the eyes of the Canadians, Chinatowns appear to have two faces. One is the mysteriously dreadful Chinese slum where there are hidden gambling joints, opium dens, poverty, secret societies, terror, narcotics, prostitution and overcrowding. The other face is an instant Asia, a paradise for the tourists; it is a colourful place to eat Chinese food and delicacies; and there is also a myth of a harmonious Chinatown under the glittering neon light. Some might even portray Chinatown as the place where there is a communal cooperation, tranquility and social propriety.

The Chinese were said to have come to this prairie community in the late 19th century. According to the local

Chinese Benevolent Association, there were 300 Chinese in 1923 and the number increased to 600 by 1942. The earlier scene of the local Chiantown was reported in Edmonton Bulletin in 1892. It was said that there were 250 "Celestials who had their pernicious opium dens, their gambling apparatus and other institutions"; and there were "restaurant keepers, laundrymen, domestics, gamblers and one lonely cobbler." The Chinatown was located "east of Fraser Avenue and between Jasper Avenue and Rice street (the block of the Alberta Hotel) -- several stores hold every kind of Chinese merchandise, with restaurants and underground dives where the Chinamen spend their leisure time. In the back room behind the stores, the indolent ones roll and recline on chairs and tables, smoking cigarettes and talking to one another in their chop-stick sort of language. (There were) also fan-tan tables ... In Chinese stores, queer wares were on sale; (there were) long, strange pipes of Celestials, strange-looking masses of Chinese food, lacquer work, ivory carvings, silk clothing and other curious and unknown articles. The entire part of the building is connected from end to end with mysterious doors and passages. The basements were filled with bunk beds and are used for smoking opium ... (this) sacred holy of holies is better known as the opium joint." (Edmonton Bulletin, May 23, 1892)

The present Chinatown is located in the same place as was described in 1892 with a slight expansion. It is mainly located between 97th street and Jasper Avenue and between 96th street and 101st Avenue. It is within the Boyle street area,

the so-called "skid row" areas downtown. It is the low-rent area in the city where there are many cheap hotels, taverns, shabby theatres, dancing clubs, second-hand stores, restaurants, meat markets, grocery stores, small dim shops, curio and antique shops, and cheap rooming houses. The buildings are among the oldest in the city; they are ramshackled and dilapidated and have been converted for many purposes -- for laundry, restaurants and barber shops.

To a large extent, Chinatown has been institutionalized. It was the focal of social life for the early Chinese and still is for the older immigrants. It has its own set of social institutions which provide for the needs of the people living there. It is estimated that 8% of the Prairie city Chinese live today within the Chinatown boundaries; most of them are older people who live in the rooming houses and in the clan associations which provide sleeping and cooking facilities. These people are living among themselves and have little contact with the members of the larger society. They live in their own traditional way and follow their own heritage.

As the number of Chinese immigrants increases, Chinatown also strives to provide for its own needs. Over the years, there seems to have been an increased opening-up of Oriental grocery-stores, restaurants, gift-shops, social clubs and book stores. The newly arrived immigrants may settle within the confines of Chinatown and may depend on the facilities and provisions within it.

Certainly, Chinatown is more than just Chinese restaurants

and grocery stores. There are Chinese associations which traditionally assume responsibilities for the welfare and protection of the Chinese. They care for the sick, the aged, the transients and provide funeral arrangements for the poor. In the earlier days, they settled their own disputes and spoke as a group vis-a-vis the larger society. Chinatown is a little community and has a dynamic internal mechanism within the framework of a larger social order. Chinese hold their social functions, associational meetings, recreational activities, festivities and parties among themselves. They have a small Cantonese school, a Chinese-language church, various recreational clubs and stores that sell Chinese products especially for them. They have recognised leaders who regulate communal conflicts among the elderly people.

Chinatown is also a place for contacts between the Chinese and the members of the wider society. As the people within the Chinatown districts are increasingly dependent on the institutions of the larger society; there is also a loosening of adherence to their traditions and customs.

The younger generation and the professional and successful businessmen are moving out of Chinatown. Some spread over the city and some stay in the suburbs. Some of them do not actually sever their relationship with Chinatown; they have friends and relatives living there and they come back occasionally to attend social functions and banquets. To those who stay out, Chinatown will remain a center for Chinese cultural and recreational activities.

Because of poor housing and lack of modern facilities, the urban city planners have proposed the renewal of Chinatown. Some of the older people felt that this was a threat to the Chinese to live as a group; and others thought that a new Chinatown is better than an urban slum. Some even proposed to build a viable and united Chinese community with effective leadership, better organisation and intensive communication.

The elderly generation sees value in the old community and resists to the redevelopment plan; the younger generation regards the Chinatown as the place to do business and not a place to live. Some Chinese businessmen fear the renewal may threaten the continued existence of their businesses. There are also people who regard Chinatown as the symbol of degradation and advocate for change. The redevelopment issue has caused concern and widespread discussions among the Chinatown residents.

(B) Family and Kinship

Before the Second World War, because of restrictive immigration laws, the great disparity of the sex-ratio and the fluid nature of migration, there was a relative absence of family life among the early Chinese. The coming of female immigrants and children appears to have remedied the situation somewhat, but there is still some degree of imbalance in the sex ratio. However, the imbalanced situation is being improved by allowing the adult male or female to bring his or her fiancée from Hong Kong and the old country.

The arrival of the members of their families poses some problems to their marital life and family arrangements. There is evidence of some communication gaps between the spouses and between the fathers and children after the long years of separation. Davison has made a study of 40 Chinese families in Toronto and found that there are 25 families whose members had not seen each other within a period of 6 to 20 years. Her details of the situation were as follows:¹

Table XIII

Years of Separation of 40
Toronto Chinese Families

<u>Years of separation</u> <u>since marriage</u>	<u>Numbers of</u> <u>families</u>
no separation since marriage	7
less than one year	2
1 -- 5 years	3
6 --10 years	4
11 -- 15 years	8
16 -- 20 years	13
21 --25 years	2
26 --30 years	1
<u>Total</u>	<u>40</u>

Source: Davison, A. M., An analysis of the significant factors in the patterns of Toronto Chinese family life as a result of the recent changes in immigration Law which permitted the wives of Canadian citizens to enter Canada, M.S. W. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1952, pp.31 & pp.105-106.

The separation of husband and wife creates a situation known as the "married bachelors" of Chinatown. As years pass by, the wives of some die in China; they do not remarry and thus lead lonely lives. Some of them are old and on pension and cannot afford to bring their wives. Some of the older immigrants have separated many years from their adult sons and daughters in Hong Kong or in mainland China.

The situation of an immigrant, Mah-fu, now aged 72, serves as an example. He came here at the age of 17; he had

done a number of odd jobs, such as being a cook, waiter and labourer. He returned to China three times -- the first time was at the age of 23 to get married; and the second and third times were before 1947. He has two sons and a daughter born to him during these visits. The political upheaval and chaos in China forced his family to move to Hong Kong. His wife subsequently died; and he has had to remit money periodically to his children. The elder son cared for his brother and sister; they all have gotten married and are now too old to come to this country. However, Mah Fu hopes to bring the eldest grandson here, to look for better opportunities and to look after him when he gets too old.

He leads a simple life in a lodging's room, paying \$20 a month for the rent. He cooks for himself and does his own laundry. He participates in the activities organised by his clan association and avoids joining a political party, for they are all corrupt. He does not plan to return to the homeland because he is of no use to China today; he is supported here by the old age pension.

Wong Hi, at the age of 70 also leads the same kind of social life as Mah Fu. He came to the city at the age of 17 and started work as a dish-washer, waiter and laundryman. He later worked as a cook and subsequently owned a restaurant. He is retired and has sold all his property. He has been to China four times and was married there. His wife bore him three sons and a daughters, but she has since died. All his children have grown up now; they are married and work in Hong Kong.

Life here, according to him, is lonely, dull and frustrating. He intends to return to die in the old country.

Though the traditional family pattern persists in very few homes, most Chinese families seem to conform in structure to the larger society -- most of them are the elementary family type, with husband, wife and children. In some cases, the family may also include a widowed mother or an aged father. There are very few extended families of two or three generations in the Prairies. Due to Western influences, urban occupation, social mobility and modern economic opportunities, the formation of large extended families does not seem feasible. The prevalent family patterns are normally of a nuclear type.

There appears to be some change in the family value and belief system. The children resent being subjected to traditional authoritative control -- like having to ask for permission to do everything and being subjected to the supervision of the elder siblings. Some prefer to work part-time outside rather than work for the family's grocery store or restaurant. They contribute too much time and labour for the family and are not paid much. Family loyalty, filial piety, traditional virtues, and total respect for elders are, to them, feudalistic and traditionalistic; they belong to the old school of thought.

Among the newly arrived families, Cantonese is spoken at home; among the native-born, English is prevalent and the children may address each other by English personal names. In some families, there is a mixture of both English and Cantonese spoken. It is to be noted that most of the children do not

know the elaborate form of Chinese kinship terminology --- they may be able to address their father and grandfather in a formal kinship term but not more distant relatives --- very few of them can really relate their affinal relatives either on their maternal or their paternal side. This is because there are simply not many kinsmen around.

The traditional emphasis on having a son for the continuity of the family is stressed in some old immigrants' homes, but not in the homes of the native-born. Sons and daughters are "all the same", said my informants, they all have "equal opportunity to education and to share the family's proerty."

In some homes, contact between father and children is not extensive because the children go to school, and the father works long hours in the grocery stores or restaurants. However, if the family owns a grocery or restaurant by themselves, there is some degree of cooperation among the members of the family in running the business. The division of labour in running the family business, according to Bronson, can be seen as an extension of family relations into the economic framework and is a replication of "the features of the traditional economic subsystems." Through working in family stores, the children learn how to treat people and how to manage the trade and handle the money. The business, however, does not appear "to have any inter-generational continuity;"² for the children are not interested in it and the small business cannot provide a good living. In gneral, most of the Chinese families would stress the value of achievement and urge their children to attain

professional success.

In some situations where a China-born father married a mother born in Canada, the families tend to have a mixture of traditional and Western elements. The father may insist on celebrating some of the Chinese festivals whereas the wife may observe the Canadian customs, like organising birthday parties, and planning for leisure activities. In some cases, the Canadian-born mother will bridge communication problems between a father and his children.

To present a clearer picture of the Chinese Canadian family life in the Prairie community, the following cases may be of some interests:

Case (a): The Wee Family

Wee is an old man of 70. He came to this country at the age of 18. He worked as a dish-washer and a waiter in Chinese restaurants and later operated a laundry in the city for more than 30 years. He earned in those days \$20 to \$25 per week. Because the work was hard, he gave it up and now operates a rooming house instead.

He went back to China several times to see his wife and three sons. With his savings, he brought his sons to the city, one by one. None of his sons have much education; but they are all self-made men. His eldest son is married and has three children - he manages a grocery in Yellowknife and "makes good money down there." He came to visit the family during the

Chinese New Year. The second son is also married and has two children; he operates a grocery store down in the southside of the City, and makes a decent living. The third son is qualified as an apprentice electrician and has just returned from Hong Kong where he married a Chinese girl from Burma. The third son is living with the family but is planning to move out soon, for he has secured a job out of town.

Their mother arrived from Hong Kong in 1954; they had been separated for more than ten years. The father remarked that he and his wife were just like the Chinese says, "revising their old dream". The sons find it strange to see their mother again. However, they all get along very well, considering that they were separated for so long. The mother does not practise Chinese religious beliefs here, for she does not regard Canada as her original home, saying "this is Canada and not China".

They serve Chinese meals at home and they help each other with the house-work. The father and the sons like picnics, whereas the mother is reluctant to go out of the house.

Case (b): The Jung Family

Jung, aged 68, came to the Prairie City when he was 16 years old. He worked as a house boy, labourer, and later as a cook. He once operated a restaurant but was not successful. He then established a grocery which has been successful for more

than 30 years. He returned to China five times -- the last time was in 1957. His wife and his son now aged 28 years, came to the city about 13 years ago. His wife helps in running the grocery store, but she does not like it because the hours are long and the work is hard. His mother-in-law came later to join the family; she was the only member left in Hong Kong. The wife has two brothers and a sister living in the United States and doing business there. They come to visit the family sometimes. The son assists in the store after school hours, but he is not paid; the family buys him an item of value each year -- for example last year, they bought him a colour television set and this year they are thinking of buying him a car.

They have no relatives in the city and no time to visit others. Jung, however, still has some distant relatives in Hong Kong and maintains contact by corresponding with him.

Jung does not intend to return to China because his property was confiscated by the Communists. His wife and mother-in-law hope eventually to return to Hong Kong to work in the factory. This difference in opinion provides some strains in the family, but the mother subsequently compromised because the son intended to live in the city; life here, according to him, is more comfortable than in Hong Kong.

Case (c): The Hsu Family

Hsu, a restaurant owner, has three sons and two daughters.

One son and a daughter came to join him in the city about 10 years ago. His wife later came to join the family in 1959 and left the remaining children under the care of a paternal uncle in Hong Kong. The son finds it hard to get along well with his dad; for his father is over-demanding -- he wants him to work in the reataurant. He stated that his father is authoritarian, never jokes with him and has a "Chinese way" of controlling children. He speaks English at home with his sister. The coming of the mother did not help ease the strained relationship between the father and the son; for the mother overpampered the children and did not understand how the children felt. The mother subsequently died of illness. A couple of years later, the father married a widow from Hong Kong. It was an arranged marriage. The step mother apparently has problems with the children and does not know how to react to them. Both the son and daughter left home later to work as waiter in a city restaurant. Hsu has a younger brother, managing a hotel in Vancouver. Recently, Hsu's younger brother went back to Hong Kong and brought the other siblings to join the family. Through his arbitration, the son and daughter have decided to return home and be united.

Case (d):The Loh Family

Loh, aged 54 and born in China, now operates a wholesale

grocery. He has three brothers and a sister. Two of his brothers are married and have children of their own. One brother lives in Lethbridge and is a restaurant cashier; the other is in Vancouver, working as a carpenter. Loh's sister is married to a Chinese man and lives in New York.

He married his principal wife according to the Chinese traditional ceremony in China and has two sons and a daughter by her. The principal wife died subsequently. He married a Chinese wife born in Vancouver, and had two daughters and a son by the second marriage. The wife has six brothers and three sisters; all are married and live around southern Alberta and British Columbia. Recently a few of them have moved down to Toronto. Two of these brother-in-laws own grocery and restaurant businesses in the city. Loh thus has a wide range of related kinsmen and they visit each other occasionally and invite each other over for birthdays' or New Year's parties. Those who stay far away maintain contact by correspondence and exchange Christmas and new year cards in season.

Loh 's native-born children speak English at home; since he is China-born, he does insist sometimes on some of the traditional discipline at home, like not keeping late night hours, not allowing too frequent dates and requiring submission of the children to parental authority. The wife sometimes serves as a mediator between the father and his children. She claims to understand her children better than her husband does because she was born in Canada. The son is in the University, and two of the daughters are working, one as a laboratory technician and the

other as a clerk. They all stay at home with their parents.

The father occasionally returns to Hong Kong to visit the other children by his first wife. They have all grown up, married and have no intention of coming to Prairie city. The father remits to them some money during the festive occasions.

Chinese Marriages

With regard to Chinese marriages, some degree of traditionalism still prevail in the Prairie community. Some Chinese are conscious not to marry persons of the same surname as much as possible. Among the older generation, exchanging of the ring and giving gifts to the prospective bride family is still maintained. There is no bride price. The native-born are more attuned to the change of time, they believe in courtship and romantic love. Although consultations with parents before marriage are still carried on, arranged marriages through match-makers are on the wane.

Of those of the first generation, some return to Hong Kong for a holiday and look for a spouse. They then arrange for the partner to come over and get married. In some cases, through introductions by common friends and relatives in the city, young men and women may write to each other; to become acquainted with one another. Then they may forward each other photographs if they like each other. If the situation looks favourable, they

become engaged through friends and relatives, and the partner comes over to get married. My informants note that in most cases, such marriages are satisfactory; but in some cases they are not, for there are still differences which cannot be bridged by merely corresponding with each other.

Most marriages are either civil marriages or church marriages. In both cases, a big banquet is normally held in a Chinatown restaurant after the simple marriage ceremony. Friends and relatives are invited; monetary gifts wrapped in red paper are still given to the newly wed as presents. An elder or two may say best wishes for their successful marriage and hope they would live "till both of their hairs turn gray."

In a few cases, patrilocal marriages are still maintained; where the married sons may stay with their parents. However, in most cases, the newly-weds move to a new place and stay by themselves following the Western custom. Cross-cousin marriage (the marriage between the mother's brother's daughter and the father's sister's son which is preferred by some of the Hong Kong Chinese) is not observed here. The cross-cousin marriage is traditionally believed to close-knit the family.

Under the impact of the West, the social status of women is different in the city. They have more to say in the family affairs and they no longer submit to patriarchal authority. There are very few instances where successful businessmen practice polygamous marriages, or keep concubines or mistresses; this is partly due to the Western influences and largely due to bigamy law.

Intermarriages

Some of the older generation still disapprove of intermarriages between Chinese and other racial groups. An elderly father may refuse to attend the marriage of his daughter to a whiteman; another may refuse to participate in a banquet for his son's marriage to a white girl. However, the native-born and the first generation, do not hold any prejudicial attitude toward intermarriages. In fact, the rate of intermarriage between the younger generation and the whites appears to be increasing. The following few cases may offer some insight into the married life of the intermarried couples:

Case (a)

Fong, aged 27 and born in China, came to the city when he was nine years old. His father works as a pilot in the Canadian Air Force and his mother operates a restaurant. He has a brother and two sisters who attended English schools. Fong is a worker who cleans carpets and windows for a fashionable apartment building. He is also the owner of a "Chinese Art of Self-Defense Club." He earns about \$800 to \$1000 per month, plus commission for his carpet-cleaning work.

He met his wife (part English and part Irish) when his sister brought her to his house, his sister and his wife were classmates. They dated, became better acquainted and subsequently

were married. They now have a daughter (three years old) and a son (one year old).

His wife's parents live in the city. Her father is a truck driver. She has one brother and a sister, both are married. She worked as a secretary and has given up since her marriage. She serves Western meals at home for this is the food that she knows how to cook well. They go to the Chinese restaurants for the Oriental meals.

Fong's mother wanted him to marry a Chinese girl and did not accept the white bride initially. However, after the wife gave birth to a son, Fong's mother has accepted her and now pays regular visits to the family.

The marital relationship seems to have worked out well and they are not disturbed by what others' say about intermarriage, for "this is their life and not others".

Case (b)

Ron, a white Canadian man, is of part German and part Norwegian parentage. Ron's dad was a farmer and passed away some years ago. He has an elder brother who works in an oil-field, and a sister who is married to an Italian. Ron is a qualified teacher in the city. He married a Chinese girl, a qualified nurse, from a small town in Alberta.

They met each other while both of them were attending the university. The girl's parents objected to the marriage and decided initially to have nothing to do with them. Ron proposed three times before she accepted. The girl was born locally and there is no problem of cultural gap or communication between them. Ron's family accepted the Chinese girl well and they do not have any adverse opinion about her. During the Christmas holidays and the Chinese New Year, the couple regularly pays visits to the girl's parents.

Both the husband and the wife share many common interests like camping, fishing, hunting and attending Western chamber music. They have a daughter, aged two years.

Case (c)

Gee, born in China and now aged 60, married a French Canadian wife about 30 years ago. His first wife died in China and he has a son and a daughter by her. There are no children by the present marriage. He met his Canadian wife while she was working for him as a restaurant waitress. They have now sold the restaurant and live on pension and savings.

The wife shares some interests in things Chinese and attends Chinese social functions in Chinatown. She has learned to speak Toi-Shan dialects and to drink Chinese tea; sometimes, she puts on a Chinese cheong-sam. The couple seems to get along

well. The husband remarks that in some cases, the white wife is better than the Chinese women, for they care for you more.

The wife came from a farm family with four brothers and three sisters. Most of her siblings are married; some work as farmers and some as labourers. The couple visits them occasionally and are well received by them.

The children of the husband's former marriage have grown and settles in Vancouver. The son and daughter find it hard to address a white step-mother as mother; and they have a language problem in communicating with her. However, they send her gifts during the Chinese New Year time.

Case (d)

Wee, aged 45, came to the city from China at the age of ten. He was well educated in English. He worked as a cook and labourers and is now a salesman. He married a Polish Canadian and has two sons and a daughter by her. They got along well for the first few years of marriage but it has become strained. The wife is said to be domineering and over-demanding. She spends a lot but works little. He tries to put up with her as both of them are getting old now.

His son is getting married to a Scottish girl, who is a nurse; and his daughter has married a labourer of Ukrainian descent.

The family gets together during Christmas holidays and

and exchanges gifts in celebrating both father's and mother's days and their respective birthdays.

Because of racial prejudice, intermarriage was not prevalent despite the fact that there was unequal sex distribution among the early Chinese. In the former days, most of the Chinese married white girls who came from a lower socio-economic class, those usually working in the Chinese restaurants or cafe. The situation has certainly changed today, there are intermarriages among a few professionals like nurses and teachers; and among the children of businessmen.

Traditionally, the children of mixed parentage are frowned upon by the older Chinese generation. Some call them the "half-baked bread -- meaning half-white and half-yellow"; but today, such unfavourable attitudes and traditional prejudice against them are diminishing.

Divorce cases are little known in Chinatown. When they do develop, they are normally settled out of court, for the Chinese regard that matter as a shameful one which should not be made public. There is only one case that came to the attention of the leaders in Chinatown. A Canadian-born Chinese went to the old country and married a Chinese wife. He brought her back to the city and ultimately had three sons and two daughters born to him. However, the husband lost interest in her and went to stay with a white woman and subsequently had two daughters born to him by this union. The Chinese wife appealed to the community leaders for reconciliation but to no avail. The husband is a

taxi-driver and supports the children and the Chinese wife. The wife is said to have decided recently to divorce him.

Traditionally, a Chinese man could divorce his wife or remarry if the wife was barren; and if there was any divorce, it was done by mutual consent with arbitration from a respectable third party. Since there were few Chinese women here before the Second World War, it would be surprising to hear of few Chinese divorce cases in the Prairies community.

In 1967, the estate of a local Chinese who died intestate was contested by the widows; a Chinese principal wife from Hong Kong and a white woman in the city. Both claimed to have married the deceased and presented expert testimony of Chinese marriages. The first wife has a son by him; and the second has a daughter by him. However, the matter was subsequently decided outside the court -- the first wife was said to have gotten \$16,000 and the legal expenses; and the second wife and the daughter got the remaining of the deceased's estate.

(C) Chinese Economy and Occupational Structure in a Prairie
Chinese Community

During the gold rush period in the mid-nineteenth century, the Chinese were mainly employed as labourers and unskilled workers. Later, they entered into other occupations which offered the least competition with the members of the larger society. Because of a lack of capital and organisational power and skill, they confined their economic activities to family-oriented businesses such as laundry, restaurants, groceries, cafeterias and small retail stores.

In Prairie city, there are no large Chinese firms nor are there factories organised on an incorporated basis. The businesses that they engage in have to stand up to the competition of the whites or they will be gradually swept away. The laundry is a good example. Traditionally, Chinese laundries were found in most of the Prairie towns and cities; with the coming of the machines-operated steam laundries, their operations have gradually died out. Even the grocery stores that Chinese set up have to be deployed across the city to small neighbourhoods where they do not have to compete with the big chain supermarkets. They are subject to the usual limitations of small businesses: little capital, long hours, low volume and hard work. To a certain extent, they are marginal enterprises.

Despite their perseverance, pioneering spirit, patience and ability to work for long hours, Chinese here can only withstand competition and advance their traditional monopoly in Chinese restaurants and in catering services.

In 1926, it was reported that there were 25 Chinese restaurants in the local Prairie Chinese community and 35 in Calgary.³ Today, there are approximately 77 Chinese restaurants and 146 Chinese grocery stores spread across the Prairie City. It appears that personal service (mostly restaurants) and retail trade (mostly groceries) are the most significant Chinese economic activities. Of a total of 282 businesses in the hands of the local Chinese, 60% of the businesses are in groceries and 37% in the personal services. The immense concentration in small trade and personal services indicated that the local Chinese economy have not been diversified; and their livelihood are very much dependent on these businesses.

The distribution of the local Chinese businesses, together with a comparison with the percentage distribution of employed (by industrial groups) in Canada, 1968 can be seen in the following table:

Table XIV

Distribution of Local Chinese Businesses, 1969;
and a comparison of the percentage of Local
Chinese Businesses with Canada's percentage
distribution of Employed (by Industrial group),
1968

Businesses and Industries	Numbers (local)	Percentages (local)	Canada's % distribution of Employed
Agriculture	1	0.3%	7.2%
Other Primary industries	"	"	2.9%
Manufacturing	1	0.3%	23.3%
Construction	"	"	6.2%
Transportation, communica- tion and other utilities	3	1.0%	8.9%
Trade(including retail)	168	60.0%	16.7%
Finance, insurance and real estate	4	1.4%	4.3%
Community business and personal service	105	37.0%	30.4%
Total	282	100.0%	99.9%

Source: Field notes on the local Chinese businesses; and
 Canada Yearbook, 1969, pp.766.

(It is to be noted that though admittedly, we cannot
 compare the percentage distribution of employed by
 industrial groups in Canada (labour force), with
 the percentage of the categories of local Chinese
 businesses, yet such comparison, in view of lack of
 local labour force data, may provide a rough picture
 of the local Chinese economic position in the larger
 economic structure.)

Most of the Chinese restaurants in Prairie City serve Canadianized Chinese cuisine; and some serve Cantonese food. In fact, the restaurants that claim to serve genuine Cantonese food are located in Chinatown. The others that serve Westernized Chinese food are spread throughout the city. Chop suey, Chow Mein and sweet and sour spareribs are traditionally appreciated by the Canadians in most of the cities, towns, and villages. Other dishes included are egg fooyong, egg rolls, wantun soups, fried rice, Chinese greens, and fried beef with bean sprouts. Chop suey has become so popular that the Canadians call Chinese medium-sized restaurants the chop suey houses. Chop suey is actually a North American dish; it is the mixture of pieces of beef or pork, shrimp, bean sprouts and various vegetables and fried rice. It appears to suit the Canadian tastes.

From the available information, it appears that to establish a small restaurant one needs at least \$10,000 for a less than favourable location, a medium sized restaurant costs under \$25,000 and a substantial restaurant requires \$40,000 to \$50,000. A few big Chinese restaurants in the city with a licensed dining lounge cost more than \$100,000. These large restaurants cater to parties, businessmen's luncheons, wedding receptions and other social functions. The restaurants are decorated in an Asiatic style with an Oriental atmosphere and with an artificial garden, traditional Chinese paintings, pagoda and lanterns. On the other hand, small restaurants are like North American cafes with simple decorations and facilities.

The restaurants are either owned by a single person or in joint partnership with others. Some of the restaurants are located close to each other and thus pose some degree of competition among themselves. The big restaurants may employ chefs from Hong Kong who use modern recipes and innovations. The small restaurants are of the family-business type. In those restaurants which are jointly owned by a few partners, a pattern of cooperation seems to operate among themselves in the running of the business. One man may work as cook, the others as waiter or cashier. The joint partnership sometimes does not work out well; the members may end in dissolving the business either because of disputes or dissatisfaction.

The big restaurant claim to serve authentic Chinese food and employ musical bands to entertain the customers. The restaurants in Chinatown normally open their businesses at mid-day or at 11:30 A.M. and continue until 2:30 A.M. The waiters in the small restaurants will be paid \$1.25 or \$1.50 an hour; the cooks will get \$2.50 or \$3.00 per hour (some will be paid a monthly salary of \$300 or \$350), depending on skill, experience, and business conditions. It appears that most of those who work as cooks and waiters are elderly people or in the case of young men, are those who came over to Canada recently and have little knowledge of English.

Most of the restaurants in the city are situated within the central business areas, especially in between 97th Street and Jasper Avenue, 104th Street, and 82nd Avenue and 99th Street and 101st Avenue. It appears that the Chinese restaurants are

concentrated in pockets, whereas the groceries are scattered throughout the city to lessen the degree of competition.

The grocery stores seem to cater to two main categories of customers:

a. Those that deal with whites are normally located in the neighbourhood, selling a small selection of the same items as the supermarkets;

b. Those that cater to the Chinese themselves are usually located within the boundary of Chinatown. They sell dry goods, rice, canned food, Oriental favours, chinawares, shoes, silk, preserved fish and vegetables from China, Hong Kong and Taiwan. Some Chinese grocers import their goods from Vancouver, and some order directly from the Orient.

The capital for running a grocery store is not large; normally within the range of \$10,000 for a small grocery and \$40,000 for a large one. The work in the grocery requires long hours and patience. Some stores are open from 8:00 A.M. to late in the evening; some keep their stores open as long as they have business.

A few big stores are owned by joint partnerships and are operated by joint effort, but most of the groceries are run with the cooperation among the members of the families. A husband and wife may take turns tending the shop; the children may help in delivering the goods and keeping the accounts. The family becomes so absorbed in these long hours of work that they hardly have the time to engage in other social events or in leisure activities.

The Chinese groceries announce, in Chinese writing, on their signboards the arrival of a shipment of Chinese groceries, meats and vegetables. Most of the items they sell have a price tag, indicating the Western influence as opposed to their traditional form of bargaining. The Chinese wines are sold only to the Chinese and not to the whites since this is illegal. Some of the groceries in the white neighbourhoods have adopted English names for their stores, since the white neighbourhoods have few Chinese customers. The groceries are located in every part of the city but some concentrations can be seen between 96th street and Jasper Avenue, 101st street and 114th Avenue and Chinatown areas.

Besides these Chinese economic activities, there are Chinese operated rooming houses, tailor shops, barber shops and fruit stores, but these are not prevalent. A few Chinese farmers work on small plots of land, planting vegetables to meet the demand from the Chinese restaurants downtown.

Newly arrived immigrants who are admitted on the basis of skill, knowledge and education may likely enter into the professional fields. There are some nurses and teachers who have come from Hong Kong. The native-born are making use of available educational opportunities to be trained as professionals. Already, some have entered into the fields of engineering, architecture, medicine, law and accountancy. They have a wider area of employment than their forefathers.

For a closer look at the Chinese economic life, I shall present several case studies for illustration.

Case (A) A Chinese Restaurant and Grocery Owner

Mah, aged 45 years, came to Canada about 20 years ago. He has two elder sisters and a younger brother. The sisters are all married and live in Vancouver, and the younger brother has just come from China. His father passed away about ten years ago and left a small Chinese grocery for him. He developed the grocery store by working hard and putting in more capital. He ordered Chinese merchandise from Vancouver and Hong Kong. He tried his hands in establishing a mahjong club and collected commissions from the players. With some savings, he then branched off to set up a restaurant, serving Cantonese food. It turned out to be a success. It is speculated that he has accumulated about \$ 600,000 and has bought a few houses around the Chinatown area.

He has three sons and a daughter; two elder sons are going to the public school. He employs three cooks and four waiters to work in the restaurant, and two workers to work in the grocery.

He said it is easier to make a living here than in Hong Kong, and he is satisfied with his economic achievement which he attributes to hard work, diligence and a calculative venture; but in social life, he feels lonely and uninteresting for there is little in the city for the Chinese.

However, he wishes his sons to become professionals rather than to perpetuate the hereditary occupations of the restaurant and grocery, for these require hard work and much time.

Case (B): A Restaurant Owner

Wong, 37 years old, came to Canada about 25 years ago. His father came here to work as a labourer for the Canadian Pacific Railway and passed away many years ago. His dad once set up a small laundry, but was not successful. The old man was said to have a lack of organisational ability and did not know how to read and write; therefore he did not know how to keep an account. He kept his money under the pillow instead of keeping it in a bank.

Initially, Wong worked as a dish washer and waiter; with some savings, he set up a small restaurant in the south side. He has managed the restaurant for more than ten years and can make a decent living from it. His wife helps in tending the business in the daytime while he works at night till 2:00 A.M. He employs two white women and pays them \$1.45 an hour. He has two sons and two daughters.

Case (C): A Cafe Owner

Yee, 42 years old, came to the city about 23 years ago. His father was here working as a cook. Yee went to an English school for a year and was forced to leave school because he was poor. He worked as a waiter for several years and then returned to China to marry. He came back a year later and borrowed some money from his relatives and set up the cafe which has been operating for more than ten years now.

He said it was hard for a Chinese to set up a big business, because the whites would not give you a chance. The white customers would not frequent your business and there was keen competition from the white industries.

He has four sons, all attending the public school. Two sons are assisting him after the school hours.

Case (D): A Grocery Owner

Gee, aged 51, came to the city at the age of 16. Originally his father owned a restaurant in a small town in Alberta. He sold the restaurant when his father passed away and came to establish a grocery in the city. He does not make much money but has enough to make a living. Most of his customers are whites of a lower socio-economic class. Sometimes he advanced them credit, but ultimately they did not clear their debts. He felt discriminated against by the whites before but not now. The general social attitude toward the Chinese has changed because the Chinese have proved themselves to be law-abiding and China has re-emerged as a major power.

He runs his business with the assistance of his wife and two children. They spend a lot of time tending the business and do not have spare time to visit friends and relatives.

Case (E): Lim, a Herbalist

Lim, born in Calgary, is in his late thirties. His father

was a herbalist in the old country and came to work as a labourer with the Canadian Pacific Railway. After accumulating some money, the father set up a restaurant and later a grocery successively, but both were unsuccessful. He then bought a piece of land and became a market gardener. The father worked on the farm for more than ten years, and later decided to move to the city and opened up a Chinese herb shop.

Lim likes to spend some of his time in leisure pursuits, like fishing, hunting and watching football games rather than spending all his time in business. He was educated in English, but did not complete Grade 12. He does not know how to read or write Chinese. His wife is a Cantonese from Hong Kong and so she helps translate some of the Chinese medical prescriptions into English. He learned his herbalist skill from direct experiences in his father's shop. He also works part-time as a realty and estate agent.

Most of his customers are whites rather than Chinese. There are people who came to his shop out of curiosity about Oriental medicine. The lower-class people are said to accept Chinese medicine readily, whereas the middle class is rather suspicious and doubtful about the value of Chinese medicine.

He has three sons and two daughters.

Case (F): A Chinese Barber

Ong, aged 47, came to the city at the age of 11. His father came to work as a labourer and later as a cook. He

attended an English school for several years and can converse in English very well. He started work as a restaurant waiter. In those old days, according to him, it was difficult for a Chinese to get a decent job because of racial prejudice. He later joined in a partnership with four others in establishing a restaurant in an Albertan small town, for several years. Two of the partners subsequently died and he decided to disolve the business. He then moved to the city and opened up a barber shop which has operated for more than fifteen years. Most of his customers are Chinese; the whites would walk out of his shop once they noticed that the barber is a Chinese.

He has an elder sister and a younger brother; both have married and stay in Vancouver. His wife and three children came from Hong Kong about five years ago. He earns enough to support his family.

Case (G): A Chinese Cook

Lang, aged 38, came to Canada at the age of 12. His dad owned a restaurant in Red Deer before he died. He attended a public school up to grade five and left for financial reasons. He started work as a restaurant waiter and learned cooking there. He has been working as a cook with several restaurants in the city off and on. He is now paid \$470 a month.

He has two sons and two daughters. One daughter is a nurse, and a son works as a clerk in a lawyer's office.

He believes the Chinese cuisine served downtown is Cantonese peasant-style food since he has been to China and Hong Kong several times and observed that the meals served there are quite different in their preparation and serving.

Case (H): A Restaurant Waiter

Chang, 40 years old, initially worked as a cook, and had tried to do some sale business in tobacco and cigarettes but was unsuccessful. He opened a small cafe and later a laundry shop but did not make much headway. He then decided to work as a waiter in the Chinese restaurant. He has a language difficulty with Canadians, and has experienced racial discrimination. He was ridiculed by the whites on the street; they called him a "Chink" and threw snow at him. He earned \$1.45 an hour plus \$4.00 or \$5.00 in tips a day; it became possible for him to earn approximately about \$450 to \$500 a month.

He has three daughters, all attending English school. He hopes their husbands will be Chinese, because intermarriage, according to him, would not work out.

(D) The Leadership and the Framework of the Chinese Organisation

(A) The Leadership

Most of the associations formed in the city have their own aims and objectives; they do not collectively constitute a formal institution of social control. In general, most associations will nominally recognize the Chinese Benevolent Association as the spokesman for the Chinese community. The clan associations and political organisations have connections with their respective headquarters in Vancouver or Victoria.

However, the various associations are to some extent coordinated by virtue of some leaders who occupy executive positions in various associations. In other words, through the participation of a number of leaders in various kinds of associational activities, the various associations are to a certain extent inter-connected. A distinctive feature in this pattern of inter-associational relationship through inter-locking associational leadership can be delineated from the fundamental differences in their political outlook. A leader who occupies a position in the Kuomintang will not participate actively in the associational activities of the Freemasons -- for these two

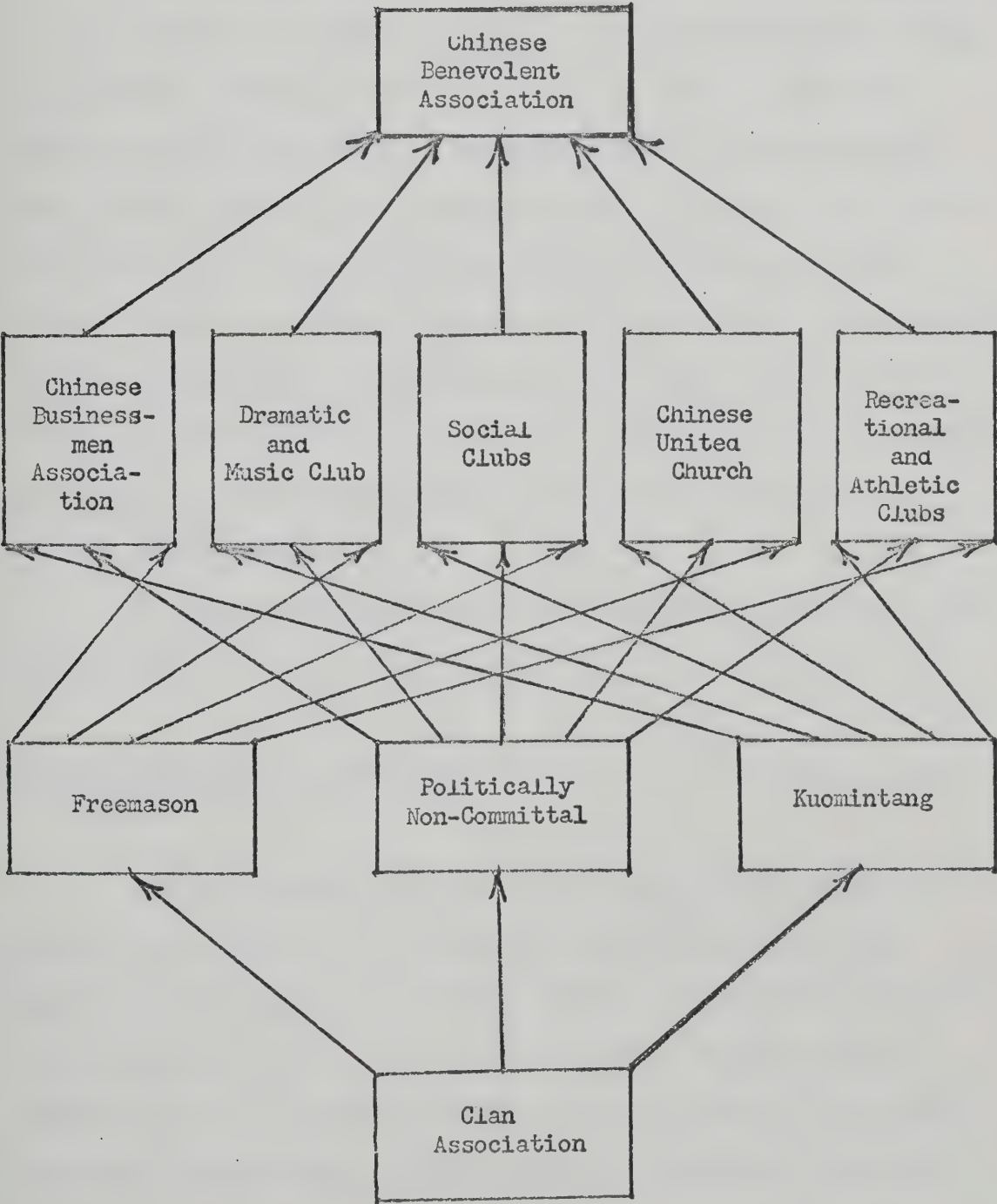
organisations diverge in their attitudes toward the homeland politics and Canadian affairs.

All the clan associations in the city consist of people with a common single surname. Multi-surnames associations like those in Vancouver are not available, because the people of the various surnames who are traditionally grouped together are few in number in the city. (For example, the people of surnames Liu, Kuan, Chang, and Ch'ao have organised an association together called Lung Kang Kung So in Vancouver; the same with the people of surnames, T'an, Hsu, Hsieh, Tang and Yuan who formed Chao Lun Kung So; and the same with the persons with surnames, Wu, Chai and Chou who formed Ai Lien Kung So)

Thus, in Prairie city, a prominent member of the clan association may be politically neutral, or belongs either to the Kuomintang or Freemason, and occupies important positions in numerous other associations -- such as the Chinese Dramatic Club, Social Clubs, Chinese Benevolent Association, Chinese Businessmen Association, Chinese Recreational Club and others. Thus, the interlocking of the leadership positions by a single leader in the various associations can be put into a single diagram as follows:

Table XV

THE INTERLOCKING OF VARIOUS ASSOCIATIONAL POSITIONS BY CHINESE LEADERS



It is to be noted that not all the Prairie Chinese leaders occupy important positions in all the associations -- for instance, one may join Freemasons, the church organisation or a social club and occupy a prominent position only in the Chinese Businessmen Association.

One characteristic of this pattern of community leadership is that nearly all of the recognizable leaders invariably occupy an important position in the Chinese Benevolent Association. Contrary to the situation in Southeast Asia, a position on the local school board is not important here. To some of the leaders, the school here is under the supervision and control of the church, though it claims to represent the community. However, the various associations do occasionally make monetary contributions to the school. The Chinese Benevolent Association has contemplated building a Chinese public school in the city for many years but has not yet done so.

It appears that there are two forms of leadership in the community:

(a) The Traditional Leadership

The traditional elite has the support of the older generation, since most of the membership of the associations consist of elderly people anyway. Because of this, the criteria for leadership are based on a set of peasant social values; a leader should be community-minded, literate, helpful, concerned for others, sympathetic, understanding and willing to sacrifice

for the sake of the members. Since most of the early arrived Chinese were not well off, the selection of leaders based on wealth alone seemed to be impractical, though a leader was expected to contribute financially if able. Perhaps, for illustrative purposes, two cases can be cited:

Case (i)

Leader Hong is president of a clan association, and a prominent member of the Kuomintang, the Chinese Businessmen Association and the Chinese Benevolent Association. He owns only a Chinese grocery store; and compared to the others, he is certainly not one of the richest in the community. But he is well-respected, for he is just to the people, able to read and write Chinese very well, works hard for the Chinese; and he is responsible, cultured, sociable, helpful and righteous. He is said to have a dynamic personality and to be committed to a good cause. He will fight for the downtrodden and the unjustly oppressed.

Case (ii)

Leader Mah is president of the Freemasons, and occupies important positions in the Chinese Businessmen Association, a Social Club, and the Chinese Benevolent Association. He owns a cafe in Chinatown and is not wealthy. He is known to be skilled and intelligent in arbitration, negotiation and settling disputes. He is friendly, open-minded and amenable to suggestion and to

changes of the times. He contributes generously to the financial support of the community. He is also a cultured man, writing and speaking good Chinese.

(b) The Newly-Emergent Elite

These are normally the merchant elites who have scored some financial success and amassed some wealth. These are the people who can offer employment opportunities for the unemployed, and can contribute financially to the general welfare of the community. Some of these elites, by virtue of their contacts with the whites in the business world, can speak English better than the traditional elite and know the communication channels with the larger society. A few of them even attempt to enter some positions of importance in the white society through participation in the voluntary associations, and even in the big football games. Some tried to get themselves elected as a member of the General Businessmen Association organised by the Canadians. It is to be noted that the status they gain in the larger society may carry over to the Chinese community. In other words, their positions in the larger society also increase their prestige and status in Chinatown. For illustration, two other cases can be cited:

Case (i)

Leader Lung is president of the Chinese Businessmen Association and is also a prominent member of the Chinese Benevolent

Association and his clan association. He is far-sighted. He expanded his father's grocery store and later set up a small-scale supermarket. With some financial success, he established a luxurious and large restaurant in the city and employs about 40 staff members. He has deep convictions in life and works hard for them. He is adventurous, speculative and willing to take risks. He seeks publicity by organizing Chinese variety shows and parties and inviting prominent people of the larger society to participate. He also contributes money to the projects and welfare of the wider society. He is a member of the various business associations and social clubs organized by the whites. He is dynamic and tries new ideas in his business most of the time.

He was educated in Chinese for a few years in the old country and attended an English school in Prairie city several years. Today, he is a successful man in the business world and enjoys the esteem of the Chinatown community. He helps the poor Chinese with funeral expenses and contributes generously to the various Chinese organisations.

Case (ii)

Leader Goh occupies important positions in various Chinese associations in the Prairie city. He is friendly, witty and has organizational ability in business. He has a restaurant, a grocery and a real-estate company. He participates extensively in the social functions organised both by the whites and the

Chinese and hopes to enhance the understanding between Chinese and non-Chinese. He joins various voluntary association in the city like the Red Cross Society, Canadian Cancer Society and other charitable bodies. He organizes and sponsors various football games and championship competitions. He also supports Edmonton's Oil Kings (a hockey club) and other social clubs.

He helps to organize representations and petitions in order to "liberalize" the immigration regulations effecting the Chinese; and he also assists in collecting relief for flood victims in Taiwan and in helping other social welfare agencies.

It is to be noted that both leaders Lung and Goh are rare in the Chinese community. There are very few "rich Chinese" in the community and not many wealthy Chinese are willing to spend too much of their time and energy to champion the cause and welfare of the community.

In general, the native-born and the younger generation do not participate in the Chinese associational activities. They look toward the larger society for better opportunities and a better future.

(B) The Framework of the Chinese Association

The Chinese are known all over the world for their tendency to form elaborate intertwined associations. This is to a certain

extent related to their social and cultural traditions. The traditional clan and lineage system provide them with some framework to organize themselves in a strange social setting. The clan organisation which stressed the values of mutual help, protection, benevolence, stability and perpetuation may be used in the overseas setting to express collective solidarity and fraternity. Though the city's Chinese community is small, it has a number of associations which can be classified as follows:

- i. The Community Organisation
- ii. The Clan Associations
 - The Mah Clan Association
 - The Wong Clan Association
 - The Gee Clan Association
- iii. The Political Organisations
 - The Kuomintang
 - The Chinese Anti-Communist League
 - The Freemasons
- iv. The Chinese Businessmen's Association
- v. The Chinese United Church
- vi. The Cantonese School
- vii. Recreational and Social Clubs
 - The Chinese Dramatic and Music Club
 - Chinese Social Clubs
 - The Chinese Kung-Fu Club
 - The Ching-Wu Club
 - The Chinese Recreational Club
 - Athletic Clubs
- viii. The Chinese Students' Association
- ix. The Chinese Youth Club

(i) The Community Organisation: The Chinese Benevolent Association

The Association was formed in 1932 and theoretically represents the whole Chinese community in the city, plus the Chinese in Northern Alberta, Yukon and Northwest Territories where there are no Chinese Benevolent Associations. The association spokesmen noted that all the Chinese living within these areas are automatically members of the Association.

The Association is concerned with the welfare and interests of the Chinese and provides assistance to the sick, aged, disabled and the unemployed. It arbitrates any disputes and disagreement among the Chinese and attempts to regulate the business interests and the social life of the Chinese. It also aims to promote and maintain the homeland cultural heritage.

Traditionally, it has joined forces with other Chinese associations in the city and those in Vancouver to fight for equal treatment for Chinese-Canadians, and to advocate radical changes in the immigration laws and regulations. The association provides lodging for the homeless and helps with the burial of the dead. It negotiated with the city council to provide a special burial plot for the Chinese in recognition of their special ceremony and unusual customs for the deceased. It is responsible for a special Chinese burial area in the cemetery at 97th street and 124th Avenue. Before the Second World War, the association also arranged to send the deceased's bones and ashes back to the old country. The governing body of the association consists of the following members:

a. Permanent executive members:	3
b. Executive members:	9
c. Superintendents	3
d. Secretary (English and Chinese)	3
e. Treasurers:	3
f. Public Relations Officers:	3
g. Propaganda Officers:	3
h. Social Welfare Officers:	3
i. Overseas Chinese Affairs Officers:	3
j. Women movement Officers:	3
k. Auditors:	3
l. Miscellaneous Affairs Officers:	4
<hr/>	
Total	43
<hr/>	

The election of these associational officials is by popular vote. The names of the prominent members of the community are printed on the ballots and sent to most of the Chinese in the community. The votes are returned and those people with the most number of votes are elected. The elected members meet and allocate the respective positions among themselves. In some situations, the traditional elite are invited to occupy certain positions because they have prestige and command of the older generation.

There seems to be no membership fee; the people contribute money to defray the administrative expenses of the association. In celebrating the spring festival and the Ching-Ming festival and in organising any social functions in which large numbers of Chinese may assemble, the associational officials take the opportunity to ask for donations for the running of the association. In the spring festival last year, the association collected a few hundred dollars as donations. In celebrating their anniversary foundation day, the members may give additional monetary contrinutions. The association may organise a film showing in

Chinatown to raise money.

Other than conducting periodic meetings to discuss issues relating to the Chinese, the association also organises New Year's party and spring festival and the Ching-Ming festival annually.

The meetings are attended by few members -- normally, they are the prominent members. The number attended seldom exceed 20 to 30 for most of the people are busy working in the restaurants, groceries, or other businesses.

The Ching-Ming festival organised last year was attended by five prominent members and three ordinary members -- they divided themselves into three small groups and visited three separate cemeteries in which Chinese were buried. Most of the ceremonies they carried out were simple and rudimentary. They brought along flowers, a few incense-sticks, a few pounds of pork, and a few pairs of joss-sticks. They did not bring any paper money, as it is not allowed by the cemetery authorities because it may cause forest fire. On one occasion, the president of the association lighted the incense-sticks and placed them on the graves with all the food and flowers in front of it; and then requested those attending to bow three times to the deceased spirit. Later, a few ordinary members poured the wine in front of the grave and carried the food back to the association. In the association, a few ordinary members might come and join them in partaking of the sacrificial food and the wine. It is to be noted that most of the people who attended the festival were elderly people. In most cases, they had once known the people whose graves they visited.

The Association is now campaigning for financial contributions to build a new building estimated to cost \$100,000; so far, \$35,000 has been solicited from the members. One member contributed \$5,000, one, \$3,000, one, \$2,000 and six others, \$1,000 each. Other gifts are below \$500, \$200, \$100, \$60 and \$50. A system of reward has been formulated in proportion to the amount of money contributed. The donor's names and their photos will be hung on the community hall. The size of the photos is dependent on the amount of money contributed, for example:

<u>Amount of money contributed</u>	<u>size of photo</u>
\$10,000	16 inches
\$ 3,000	14 "
\$ 1,000	12 "
\$500	10 "
\$200	8 "
\$100	6 "
over \$50	4 "
\$50 or less	3 "

(In any case, the names of the donors will be inscribed on a board regardless of the amount of money contributed)

The Association hopes to build a two-story hall, with an auditorium, meeting rooms, a periodical and newspaper room, a public kitchen, facilities for the musical clubs and a Chinese school in the basement.

The fund-raising campaign has the support of most of the Chinese associations in the city. Three associations have contributed \$500 each; and an association in Vancouver and one clan association in the United States have also donated a few hundred dollars each.

(ii) Clan Associations

There are three clan associations in the city and all of them are of the single-surname type. The rest of the surname-groups consider themselves too small and do not feel that they can achieve much in organising themselves. They participate in the activities of the Chinese Benevolent Association.

The Mah Clan Association

The persons with the surname Mah are considered to be the largest surname group in the city. The association is estimated to have 800 or 1,000 members, though there is no official roster to show the figures.

The Association was formed in 1914 and celebrated its 56th anniversary in 1969. The association stresses the importance of mutual assistance, protection and clan solidarity. It tries to look after all its members, for they all come from a common ancestry just as "everything comes from nature." It also arbitrates disputes among clan members and cooperates with other associations for the common interests of the Chinese community.

The association has its headquarters in Vancouver which was established in 1919. When the headquarters organised the Pan-Canadian Mah Clan Conference last year, the members of all the Mah Clan Association across the country were asked to contribute \$2.00 each.

The Executive Board of the Prairie Mah Clan Association consists of the following members:

a. Permanent executive member:	1
b. Executive members:	9
c. Alternate executive members:	5
d. Permanent superintendent:	1
e. Superintendents:	5
f. Alternate superintendents:	3
g. Secretary (Chinese and English)	6
h. Treasurers:	4
i. Public Relations Officers:	5
j. Auditors:	5
k. Investigators:	5
l. Collectors of fees:	5
m. Miscellaneous Affairs Officers:	4
<hr/>	
Total	58
<hr/>	

The above officials are elected by votes. The Association usually suggests three candidates for each official position and sends the ballots to the members. The members are asked to place a cross on the name that they select and return the votes to the association by January 15 to 18 each year. The Association notes that the names suggested are the popular personalities according to general public opinion in the community. The votes were counted and those elected chose among themselves for various kinds of positions.

The Association has its own rules and regulations for conducting the meetings. Normally, the procedures for a meeting are as follows:

- All members attending the meeting sign their names in an attendance book.
- Any motion suggested in the meeting has to be supported by two other members.
- One should stand when one speaks.

- On a specific issue one should refrain from speaking more than two times; if the issue is a controversial one, this rule would not apply.
- The Chairman has the right to stop anyone from discussing irrelevant topics.
- One should not leave the meeting unless permission is granted by the Chairman.
- The issue must be discussed before it is submitted to a vote.

Obviously, these are standard Western parliamentary procedures which are adopted by the Chinese.

The Association relies on the following financial sources to defray its expenses:

- Generous donations from the members.
- Membership fees: each member is required to pay a membership fee of \$5.00 a year.
- Income from collecting rent : the association has 8 rooms upstairs subleased to the members and collects about \$154 to \$184 a month.
- Donations collected from the spring festival and from the Ching-Ming festival.

The Association is planning to buy a new premise and has campaigned for contributions; so far the amount raised is as follows:

<u>Amount of money contributed</u>	<u>Numbers of persons</u>
1. \$3,000 (\$1,000 each)	3
2. \$4,500 (\$500 each)	9
3. \$900 (\$300 each)	3
4. \$3,200 (\$200 each)	16
5. \$2,700 (\$100 each)	27
6. \$360 (\$60 each)	6
7. \$350 (\$50 each)	7
8. \$800 (\$40 each)	20
9. \$140 (\$20 each)	7
10. \$45 (\$15 each)	3
11. \$195 (\$5 each)	39
<u>Total \$16,190</u>	<u>140</u>

The Association also has developed a kind of honorary reward system for the contributors similar to the one used by the

Chinese Benevolent Association. The names and the photos of the contributors will be hung on the associational walls. The size of the photos corresponds to the amount of money contributed, as follows:

<u>Amount of contributions</u>	<u>size of the photos</u>
1. \$500	12 inches
2. \$200	10 "
3. \$100	8 "
4. \$50	6 "
5. \$10-\$20	3 "
6. \$5	(the names of the donors will be posted on the walls)

The Association plans to buy communal property for the interests of the clan; and for this purpose, they are selling public bonds among themselves in order to raise money. Each share is sold for \$20 and will be returned with interest for \$22. Those who buy the bonds are permitted to withdraw only if they intend to leave the country permanently. The bonds cannot be transferred to any non-clan people lest others control the Association. To encourage contributions and buying of bonds, the same reward system as that of the fund-raising campaign was adopted, as follows:

<u>Amount of bonds bought</u>	<u>size of the photos</u>
1. \$1,000	14 inches
2. \$500	10 "
3. \$100 or more	6 "

So far, some of the clan members are said to have bought bonds up to an amount of \$800 and some up to \$500.

The Association tries to keep abreast of the homeland situation and to inform the members of crucial events by putting notices on the walls of the association. They also order as many newspapers as possible for this purpose.

Other than organizing the annual Ching-Ming festival, the Association also observes two other important festive occasions:

The Spring Festival

It marks the coming of spring and also provides an occasion when the clan members can get together. It is held on Sunday, March 10, each year according to the lunar calendar. The executive members of the Association usually hold a meeting to discuss the festival and to set the date and time for the occasion. Banquets are held in Chinatown restaurants and the fees are charged as follows:

- a. For adults: \$3.00
- b. For Ladies \$2.00
- c. For children: \$1.50
- d. For elderly people over the age of 70, there will be no charge. This appears to show the traditional Chinese respect for elders.

Chinese films are also shown in the Dreamland Theatre in Chinatown. Admission is based on "liberal and generous" contributions.

It seems to be a customary practice that at the conclusion of the spring festival meeting, the members of the executive board will be required to make some financial contribution. At the meeting last year, the following contributions were collected:

<u>Amount of contributions</u>	<u>Numbers of persons contributed</u>
1. \$40 (\$20 each)	2
2. \$40 (\$10 each)	4
3. \$50 (\$5 each)	10
4. \$3 (\$3 each)	1
<u>\$133</u>	<u>17</u>

The Anniversary Celebration

The celebration is held to commemorate the birthday of their ancestor Mah Wo-po, a celebrated army general of the Han Dynasty. The celebration usually begins at 2.00 P.M. The 1969 celebration was attended by 16 persons, most of those attending were ordinary members and less than 6 of them were prominent "associational elites". The ceremonial procedure observed was as follows:

The Chairman of the Association announced the starting of the ceremony and requested all those present to stand up and bowed three times to the ancestor portrait, Mah, Wo-po on the wall. Then, the Chairman made a speech regarding the social and historical significance of the celebration and asked the guidance of the ancestral spirits for prosperity and future advancement. He also urges the clan members to follow the ancestral tradition, to be united; and to cooperate for the interests and welfare of the clan. Later, the secretary, the treasurer and the public relations officer were requested to report the current financial situation and the problems that they had encountered. The Chairman then said a few words, expressing thanks for those present. Refreshments were then served: wine, pork, rice-cakes, tea and fruits.

Monetary contributions were also solicited at the end of the celebration and usually one hundred to one hundred fifty dollars was collected.

The Wong Clan Association

The Wong clan members formed their Association in 1920. Earlier, they did not have an meeting place and used to meet together in a Chinese restaurant. The present associational premise was bought with members' financial contributions and with money borrowed from the key members and others. There are about 200 persons in the city with the surname Wong, but only 40-50 people are active members. The functions of the Association are stated to be: providing mutual protection and assistance among the clan members, and maintaining the ancestral tradition and heritage.

The city's Association has close relations with the headquarters in Vancouver. Each member of the Association is required to contribute 50 cents a year toward maintenance of Vancouver's headquarters. The 50 cents is deducted from the membership fee of \$3.00 per year to the city's Association. It sends representatives to attend the Pan-Canadian Wong Clan Conference in Vancouver. The city's Wong Clan Association is allocated 30 votes to elect the Headquarters' officials. The ballots are sent to all the Wong clan associations across the country with all the candidates suggested; the Associations fill in the ballots and return them before the end of the year, and the results are announced in early January.

The Wong headquarters in Vancouver is connected with the Wong General Association in Hong Kong which claims to be the world center for all the Wong clan associations in Southeast Asia, North and South America and in the Caribbean countries.

The executive board of the city's association is comprised of the following members:

a. Chairman:	3 persons
b. Secretary:	3
c. Public Relations Officers:	3
d. Treasurers:	3
e. Auditors:	3
f. Superintendents:	3
g. Social Welfare Officers:	3
h. Investigators:	3
i. Miscellaneous Affairs Officers:	3
<u>Total</u>	<u>27</u>

The Association also has a Negotiating Committee, comprised of three Chairmen and nine Committee members, to arbitrate and settle disputes and conflicts among the clan members and problems between members and outsiders.

The election procedure of the executive board is the same as the one carried out by the Mah clan association. In 1968, a list of 155 nominees was sent out with various associational positions suggested. There was no election last year because most of the associational leaders were too busy to organize it. In most cases, the same people have been reelected most of the time. One of the executive members died last year and the vacant position has not been filled yet. This appears to be the standard voluntary associational behaviour.

The Associational finances depend on voluntary contributions, membership fees and the collection of rents. It has 18 rooms

upstairs and 11 rooms on the ground floor of the clan premises, to rent to elderly members. The rooms upstairs rent for \$15 a month and the ones on the ground for \$12 per month.

The association usually pays for normal maintenance of the premises like gas, water, light, repairs and cleaning. Sometimes, expense is also incurred in buying wreaths for deceased clan members and in making monetary gifts to other Associations celebrating their founding days. For the years of 1968 and 1969, the expenses of the Wong clan association were more or less equivalent to their income. For example, the monthly average income in 1968 was \$249.055, whereas the average monthly expenditure was \$210.57; in 1969, the monthly average income was \$245.28 and the monthly average expenditure was \$204.285.

The Association honors and worships its ancestor Wong Hsiang Kong (黃香公) also known as Wong Boon-chiang (黃文正公), a popular scholar-official in the Eastern Han period. Wong was known to be diligent in managing state affairs and loved his country and people. The Association celebrates Wong's birthday annually on the premise. A tea party is organized for the occasion. However, the Association does not organize any Ching-Ming festival for the deceased members, for the membership is small and the prominent members of the Association are always busy.

The Association does contribute some money each year to the maintenance of a Wong Clan School (Boon Chiang School) in Vancouver and the Wong Clan Athletic Club (Han Hsing Club). It once sponsored a Chinese painting exhibit by a visiting Wong professor in Chinatown, and the event was quite successful.

The Gee Clan Association

The Gee Clan Association was formed in 1920 at 97th street and moved to its present premises at 102nd Avenue in 1952. Its main objectives are to promote cooperation and mutual assistance among the clan members and to worship their common ancestor. They worship the ancestor Chu Boon Kong, also known as Chu Hsi (Chu is pronounced as Gee in Toi-Shan dialect). Chu was a well-known scholar-official in the Sung period who contributed brilliantly to Chinese culture and philosophical thinking.

There are about 250-300 people with the surname Gee in the city, but only about 120 of them are active members. The present premise was bought by the cooperation of the early clan members who loaned money for the Association. Those who loaned the money have their names displayed on the association's walls. The amount of the money that they loaned was as follows:

<u>Amount of money loaned</u>	<u>Numbers of persons</u>
1. \$6,000 (\$3,000 each)	2
2. \$1,500 (\$500 each)	3
3. \$1,200 (\$300 each)	4
4. \$300 (\$100 each)	3
5. \$100 (\$50 each)	2
6. \$600 (\$30 each)	20
<u>Total: \$9,700</u>	<u>34</u>

It is to be noted that some of those who loaned money are still alive and the majority of them occupy positions of importance in the Association. The executive board of the Association consists of the following members:

<u>Official positions</u>	<u>Numbers of persons</u>
a. Executive members:	5
b. Superintendents:	2
c. Secretary:	2
d. Treasurers:	2
e. Public Relations Officers:	2
f. Accountants:	2
g. Miscellaneous Affairs Officers:	2
<u>Total:</u>	<u>17</u>

The Association sends out blank ballots to its members and asks them to fill in the names of the able men to fill the respective official positions. They sent out more than 100 ballots in 1969 election and only 40 of them were returned. When the ballots are assembled, the Chairman reads the names listed upon the ballots and the other executive members write the names down. Each executive member is in charge of one position. Those with the highest votes get elected. Because of the voting procedure and also because the candidates to be elected are few in number, it is likely that one candidate may be elected to two different positions in the Association. If the votes come to a tie between two candidates, the Chairman has the prerogative to decide who will be elected.

The Association depends on membership subscriptions and voluntary contributions for income. It rents two rooms to clan members and sublets three parking lots to others, charging each \$10 per month. The expenses that the Association usually incurs are the following items:

- a. Expenses in water, light and gas.
- b. Property tax, monetary donations to other associations and the school.
- c. Stationery, newspapers and telephone bill.

- d. Building repairs.
- e. Buying wreaths and general expenses for the deceased members.
- f. Buying sacrificial food, drink and flower, incense-sticks and wine for the Ching-Ming and spring festivals.

So far, the biggest expense occurred throughout the year seems to be organizing the Spring festival, the Ching-Ming festival and the ancestor birthday party. These are also the occasions when the Association seeks to solicit and collect the biggest sum of money. It appears that the Association is more concerned with recreational and cultural activities rather than dealing with employment and protection of the members. In the Spring festival held in 1969 (February 16 in the Lunar calendar), the association solicited \$337 and spent about an equal amount of money in organizing a dinner party. In conducting the Ching-Ming festival in May, 1969, they spent about \$113.84 for the party, buying flowers, incense-sticks, wine, ice-cream and other necessary items. In celebrating their ancestor's birthday, they collected \$160.00 from 35 clan members and spent \$78.60 in buying chicken, pork, flowers, cakes, incense and joss-sticks.

(iii) The Political Orgnaizations

Traditionally, Chinese political parties in Canada were concerned with homeland politics. As the social and political events in China have undergone radical changes, some of their original goals have become irrelevant: for example, the overthrow of the Manchus aimed by the Chih Kung Tang. Today, these political

parties are "primarily fraternal associations with ritual, economic, and political functions within the overseas Chinese community".⁴

In Prairie city, there are two official parties and one "underground" Anti-Chinese-Communist League. After the defeat of Chiang Kai-shek in the mainland, the Kuomintang gradually lost its influences in Chinese-Canadian affairs. With the recent mutual recognition of Peking and Ottawa, the Kuomintang will probably become defunct.

The Kuomintang

The city's Kuomintang branch was established in 1913 and has been closely related with the Taipei embassy in Ottawa and the Consulate Office in Vancouver. The Kuomintang officials from the embassy and the consulate pay regular visits to the local branch and discuss the recent development of homeland politics, the possible repercussions of Ottawa's recognition of Peking, overseas Chinese affairs, and the strategy and influences to be exerted on the local Chinese community. The local Kuomintang members normally organize a dinner party in a Chinatown restaurant to welcome these official visits.

The local Kuomintang upholds the principles of Chinese nationalism and political democracy as advocated by the Nationalist government in Taiwan. It cherishes the principles of a). national peace, b). enforcement of the assimilation of races in China, c). the expansion of local self-government, d). the maintenance of the unity of politics and e). the adoption of the best policies

of socialism.

The local Kuomintang is said to have been popular among the Chinese before 1949; and at one time, it claimed to have several hundred members. Today, the membership is dwindling and the active members are said to number not more than 40-50 persons.

The members composing the government board are as follows:

<u>Official positions</u>	<u>Numbers of persons</u>
a. Executive members:	7
b. Alternate executive members:	2
c. Strategists and Organizers:	5
d. Public Relations Officers:	5
e. General Managers:	5
f. Treasurers:	5
g. Overseas Chinese Affairs Officers:	5
h. Propoganda Officers:	5
i. Disciplinary Officers:	5
j. Daily-Affairs Officers:	4
k. Women movement Officers:	5
m. Out of town representatives:	6
<u>Total:</u>	<u>64</u>

The number of official positions (64) as compared to the number of active members (40-50) seems to convey the impression that every adult member can be an official or committee member of somekind. This is certainly not the case, as some of the elected officers exist "in names" only and do not participate extensively in the organizational activities. Some are pensioners, living in the party premises and help in looking after the building. Moreover, there is an age differentials in party members' participation in activities. Most of the members are elderly people and do not over engrossed in their business' activities.

The financial resources of the party are membership subscriptions, voluntary contributions and rents collected from

rooms rented to a social club.

Other than observing the spring festival, the Kuomintang organises four other significant celebration:

i. Chiang Kai-shek birthday celebration

A tea party is normally held for the occasion. The attending members are asked to bow three times in front of Chiang's portrait. The Chairman reads the congratulatory messages, hoping Chiang will enjoy long life and "rescue" mainland China. All the members attending the party are reminded of the party's rules and regulations. Chiang was 83 years old in 1969.

ii. Annual anniversary celebration

The celebration is carried out in a solemn manner with a tea party and film showings. The ceremonial procedures for the occasion are observed as follows:

a. Many slogans are written and placed in the association. The typical ones are: "eliminate tyrannical rule of Mao, the thief (毛賊) "; "return liberty to the people"; "long live Chiang, the President".

b. The members are requested by the Chairman to stand up and bow three times to the portrait of Sun Yat-sen.

c. The members then remain silent for three minutes.

d. The Chairman then reads the will of Sun Yet-sen, indicating that the revolution has not been successful, the party members should work harder.

e. The members then sit down and share the food, cakes and fruit provided.

f. The Chairman then delivers a speech, denouncing the communists' rule in China. He hopes the mainland will be liberated and the people there will rise to overthrow the inhuman rule of Mao, the bandit.

g. The other party officials then relate the revolutionary activities of Sun, the history of the party and the rules and principles of Kuomintang.

h. An official lectures on anti-communist strategy and ideology and warns the members to be aware of the communists' influences. He predicts the communists will be doomed to failure very soon.

i. The treasurer then reports the financial situation of the year and asks for generous contributions from the members.

j. Then, some guest speakers are invited to speak, but none of them responded.

k. All the members are then asked to stand up and to shout anti-communist slogans. Some of these slogans are, "Down the communists", "Overthrow the Bandit Mao", and "Eliminate all communists". Some party officials insist that when they shout, they should raise their right fists.

l. The tea party then continues.

iii. Ching-Ming Festival

This is an annual affair which the members are asked to attend. It shows respect for the deceased party members. However, the attendance was very poor; only four party officials participated last year (1969). They bought a few bunches of flowers and visited three cemeteries in which their deceased members were buried. They did not bring along any sacrificial food, paper money, incense-sticks or joss-sticks, thinking that these were not necessary, so long, as "we are having a concerned heart". They drove around one of the cemeteries, symbolically implying that they had visited them all. They stopped at one plot and placed two bunches of flowers on two graves, taking off their hats and bowing three times. They had known the deceased when the latter were alive. They then proceeded to another cemetery and searched

for some Kuomintang's deceased members' graves. They laid two bunches of flowers on two of the graves but did not bow this time. The last cemetery that they visited had many Chinese graves scattered about and they picked one of them and made sure that it belonged to a deceased Kuomintang's member and placed one bunch of flowers on it. An official waved his hand to say "fairwell" to all the graves, for they were too tired to visit them all. No feast or tea party was organized in the party office. Soft drinks and water-melon were served to those participating in the Ching-Ming.

iv. The Double-Ten Celebration

This is the national day of the Republican government and it is held to commemorate the success of the Republican revolution against the Manchus in 1911. The local party branch organizes a tea party on the premise, puts on a motion picture and stages a banquet in a Chinatown restaurant. The occasion is celebrated with some enthusiasm by the party officials.

The Taipei government maintains regular contacts with the local branch by correspondence and distributes propoganda materials, books, anti-communists' documents, newspapers and magazines to this and other branches across the country. In 1952, Taipei created an "Overseas Chinese Day" to promote cooperation among the overseas chinese. It also organized an "Overseas Chinese Commission" to deal with the overseas Chinese affairs, and " United Overseas Chinese Organization to save the mother country". These two organizations attempt to exert influence on

the overseas Chinese through the local party branch. They hope to shape the political thinking of overseas Chinese and to solicit financial support. Scholarship plans were announced to encourage work by overseas Chinese; and financial rewards will be awarded to those who contribute to better understanding of the overseas Chinese community.

The Anti-Chinese-Communist League

This appears to be an underground organization. It does not make public its plan and objectives. It functions in a small office close to a Chinese association. Some of the key members of the organization are said to be the ex-Kuomintang members in China and closely related to the local Kuomintang branch. Its aims are to influence the Chinese toward the doctrine of Kuomintang, to solicit donations and to discourage people from the communist influence. It urges the people not to associate or to do business with communist sympathisers, and not to remit money to mainland China. It denounces all forms of communists' thinking and advocates reporting any suspicious communist activities to the "proper authorities" in Canada and outside the country. In order to encourage donations, a reward system has been devised by the Taipei regime and is adopted by the organization. The system of donation and reward is as follows:

a. For individual contributor

<u>Amount of contributions</u>	<u>Rewards</u>
1. \$100 - \$3,000	Honorary certificate
2. \$3,000- \$5,000	silver medal
3. \$5,000-\$10,000	gold medal
4. \$10,000 - \$20,000	A cabinet minister will personally present an "Honorary Board" to the donor
5. \$20,000 and above	The President Chiang will personally present an "Honorary Board" to the donor.

b. For the organization

<u>Amount of money contributed</u>	<u>Rewards</u>
1. \$500 - \$20,000	Honorary Certificate
2. \$20,000- \$50,000	A cabinet minister will personally present the honorary board to the organization.
3. \$50,000 and above	The President Chiang will personally present the honorary board to the organization.

So far, the amount of contribution that the organization collected has not been disclosed. It is doubtful any one in the Prairie Chinese community can contribute an amount up to \$10,000 to \$20,000. This was because the highest contribution that one made was \$5,000 for the building fund for a new Chinese Benevolent Association.

The Freemasons

The Prairie city's Freemasons Association was founded in

1954. The old location was at 98th street and 100th Avenue but was moved to the present location at 97th street and Jasper Avenue in 1968.

The president claims that the Masonic order originated in Egypt and moved to Europe and then to the Orient. However, other officials note that the Freemason, properly known as Chih Kung Tang, was a branch of the Chinese Triad Society and was formed about 300 years ago during the late and early Ching dynasties. Its aim was to overthrow the Manchus and to restore the Ming.

The city's Freemason Association has close relationship with the Vancouver Headquarters which maintains a Chinese Masonic School and a Chinese newspapers. The name of the new members and the deposit money have to be forwarded to the headquarters for approval and for the Masonic Foundation Fund. The headquarters' officials pay occasional visits to the local branch to investigate the current situation and to assess its progress. The local branch became disorganised in 1964 and had problems of personality conflict and financial confusions; when the Pan-Canada Masonic Order held its meeting in Calgary. Because of this opportunity, prominent members and the delegates from across the country came to the city at the conclusion of their meeting. They carried out an investigation and settled the issues. Arrangements were made to place the city's branch temporarily under the supervision of Calgary branch. The Calgary branch became responsible for electing officials, checking of account and reporting matter to Vancouver headquarters. All officials elected by the city's branch had to be confirmed by the headquarters and a certificate to this effect had to be granted for such purposes. The situation

was to continue until the local branch was able to manage its affairs and "to have no trouble".

On the other hand, the branch's Vancouver headquarters also has close connections with the Supreme Masonic Lodge in San Francisco. In 1968, the Vancouver headquarters had to pay maintenance fees of \$650 for the Supreme Lodge. The Lodge in San Francisco regularly publishes a party journal called the Bell and Drun Special Issue (鐘鼓特刊) containing articles about masonic lodges, anti-communist propoganda and current news.

Theoretically, the Prairie city branch adheres to the following principles:

- a. All human beings are brothers.
- b. Loyalty and righteousness are the supreme mottos.
- c. Mutual admonition and mutual assistance should be cherished.
- d. World peace should be promoted.
- e. Liberty, equality and national independence should be respected.

Three of the branch's mottos should be observed by all members; they are:

- a. Righteousness and unity.
- b. Loyalty and "save the country" (救國).
- c. Chivalry and elimination the evils.

According to the local officials, the Masonic order is also interested in maintaining and promoting the Chinese cultural heritage, Chinese identity, and the welfare of the entire Chinese community. It is concerned ,too, with recreational and cultural activities. It has a Masonic Athletic Club affiliated with it, which also has its headquarters in Vancouver. The Masonic Athletic Club promotes lion dances and the Chinese arts of self-defence.

The local branch had 88 members in 1969 as compared to 95 in 1966. A comparison of the total membership of the Masonic branches in the Prairie region is as follows:

Table XVI

Masonic Branches in the Prairie Provinces

<u>Major cities</u>	<u>Numbers of members</u>	
	1966	1969
Calgary	156	130
The City	95	88
Medicine Hat	27	27
Lethbridge	40	37
Cranbrook	10	10
Winnepeg	42	42
Saskatoon	27	27
<u>Total:</u>	<u>397</u>	<u>361</u>

Source: Field notes at Masonic Branch.

Each member of the Freemason has to pay a membership fee of \$5.00 a year. Those who fail to pay the fees three years successively are deprived of their membership privileges. New members have to go through an initiation ceremony before they are recognized as a full-fledged member. The initiation ceremony has to be witnessed by the prominent members of the Branch and the new members have to pledge:

- a. To obey the order, rules and regulations of the Masonic order.
- b. To obey the supreme command and higher authority.
- c. To keep secrets and carry out instructions faithfully.
- d. To sacrifice himself for the interests of the Masonic order, the country and world peace.
- e. To pay the membership fee promptly.

Financial resources depend on membership fees and voluntary contributions. The local Freemason sold its old premises for \$156,000 and bought the present location for \$88,000. Some of

the prominent members are said to loan the Branch money for internal decoration and renovation. The first floor of the building is used as a Chinese grocery store. The store is managed by several key members of the Branch, and part of the profits are said to have been contributed to the maintenance of the Branch Office. The upstairs is rented out to a Chinese restaurant. The grocery store seems to do well.

The governing body of the Branch consists of the following

members:	<u>Official position</u>	<u>Numbers of persons</u>
a.	Central Committee members:	2
b.	Superintendents:	2
c.	Secretary	2
d.	Treasurers:	2
e.	Public Relations Officers:	2
f.	Auditors:	2
g.	Welfare Officers:	2
h.	Collectors of fees	2
<u>Total:</u>		<u>16</u>

The Branch also has its own Negotiating Committee to deal with disputes among the members or other related matters. The Committee consists of the following members:

a.	Chairman:	2
b.	Chief Negotiators:	2
c.	Secretary:	2
d.	Treasurers:	2
e.	Public Relations Officers:	2
<u>Total:</u>		<u>11.</u>

The election procedure follows the same pattern as in the other Chinese associations in the city -- the "vote-sending" type.

Besides celebrating the Spring and Ching-Ming festivals, the Branch organizes the following celebrations which have special

significance for the Masonic order:

- | | |
|------------------|--|
| a. January 1st | -- The success of the Masonic revoltution in China. |
| b. March 21st | -- The Masonic leader Cheng Chin-nam created a revolution on that day. |
| c. March 29th | -- Masonic uprising in Canton (it was related to the Kuomintang's Hwang Fa Kang revolution. It might be that the Masons participated in that uprising too) |
| d. May 7th | -- The birthday of Cheng Chin-nam. |
| e. July 25th | -- The Masonic leaders Wu Chu created a revolution at Lung-Fu-Shan on that day. |
| f. September 1st | -- The foundation day of the Masonic party in China. |
| g. September 9th | -- The leader Hwang Huen Lung died for revolutionary cause. |
| h. October 10th | -- The success of their revolution in China by which the Manchus were overthrown. (It claimed to play an important part in that revolution). |

From the above list of celebrations, it appeared that the Chinese triad societies had involved in some of the major revolutions in modern China.

The origins of the Chinese Masonic order in North America, are said to be "obscured by its own semi-mythical history and by the still popular belief that it is the Oriental branch of world Freemasonry, the latter being said to have originated in the ancient Near East and to have diffused into Oriental and Occidental orders."⁵ W. Willmott, however, notes that the local Masonic order has no connection with the European or world Freemasonry. The Chih Kung Tang translated its name as Chinese Freemasons as "the Chinese community in Canada began to accommodate to the larger Canadian society."⁶ Lyman states further that the Chinese took up the name of Masonic order in order to provide a cover for their association's activities.⁷

(iv) The Chinese Businessmen's Association

The Association was formed in 1962 with the cooperation and support of the city's Chinese businessmen and grocers. It is also an associate member of the Alberta Retail Merchant Association. The aims and objects of the Association are said to be the following:

- a. To increase the knowledge of the food industry among the members.
- b. To advise young Chinese businessmen and assist them in locating and operating their businesses.
- c. To promote good will and better understanding among all Chinese businessmen in the community.
- d. To facilitate communication between Chinese stores and their suppliers.
- e. To support any meaningful community project for the interests of the Chinese.

The local Chinese businessmen realize that their capital is small, and if they do not organize themselves to protect their mutual interests, they will be submitted to the exploitation of the bigger corporations. The executive board of the Association consists of the following members:

<u>Official positions</u>	<u>Numbers of persons</u>
1. Advisers:	3(two deputies)
2. Chairmen:	3(two deputies)
3. Secretary:	3(two deputies)
4. Public Relations Officers:	3(two deputies)
5. Treasurers:	3(two deputies)
6. Social Welfare Officers:	3(two deputies)
7. Miscellaneous Affairs Officers	2(one deputy)
8. Recreational and athletic officers:	3(two deputies)
<u>Total:</u>	<u>23</u>

In addition, three regional representatives are elected to represent the Association in each of the following areas in the city:

- a. The Eastern areas.
- b. The Southside.
- c. The Northwest Areas.

The election procedure follows the Chinese "vote-sending" pattern. Each member is entitled to be elected and has full voting right. A total number of 153 names were submitted for election last year; and 30 persons were selected out of the popular votes. The election is widely publicized so that every member is aware of it. It is hoped by this method of voting that the most competent will be elected.

Each member is requested to pay \$5.00 as a membership fee. The financial situation of the Association in the fiscal years of 1962 to 1964 was as follows:

Financial Situation of the Chinese Businessmen's Association

	<u>years (1962- 1964)</u>		
	<u>1962</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>
<u>Income</u>	<u>1,943.38</u>	<u>2,862.67</u>	<u>2,824.82</u>
<u>Expenditure</u>	<u>817.66</u>	<u>1,298.04</u>	<u>1,849.27</u>

The Association holds an annual banquet for the members, inviting government officials, community leaders and prominent businessmen. This is to facilitate communication and mutual understanding among the people in the business world. It also organizes a picnic so that the members of the families can get to know each other. The Association puts on movie shows and operas in order to solicit donations for the Chinese United Church, the Chinese Benevolent Association and other welfare projects.

An Athletic Club is affiliated with the Association. It promotes the practices of the Chinese arts of self-defence and the lion dance.

(v) The Chinese United Church

The idea of the Chinese mission, "according to a report in Edmonton Bulletin in 1908 was "to educate, civilize and ultimately Christianize the Chinamen" for the Chinese could "not be Christianized until they have been educated." It further stated that the majority of the city's Chinese "do not pay much attention to the mission." There was only one Chinaman "studying to become a missionary" and several "Chinamen now running restaurants in the city have been converted." (Edmonton Bulletin, May 23rd, 1908)

The Methodist Mission was said to have started work among the Chinese in 1900. In 1929, there were 70 Chinese Christians in Calgary and 110 in the province of Alberta. The missionary work in Edmonton was "carried on by the Methodist and the Presbyterian Churches, notably Westminster Church which had a Sunday school. Rev. Ma Saung and Rev. Leung Chuk Ping were connected with the church work".⁸²

A Methodist Chinese minister came to the city in 1929 from Vancouver and started to hold a small service for a few Chinese in his home at 96th street and 103rd Avenue. He left in 1939 to retire in Vancouver.

The Chinese United Church was established in 1931, and moved

to an old house next to the present church building in 1933. The present church was built in 1953. There were few Chinese Christians in the early days. According to the church's elders, 20 Chinese came to the church during the period of 1931-1939; and about 30 persons in 1939 - 1948. Since 1948, the church membership has increased to about 100 persons.

The church is related to the United Church in Canada and receives some financial aid from the Head office. The church has at the present five elders: two of whom are ladies. Of three men one works as an insurance agent, another as railway engineer and is now retired in Vancouver, and a third as a retired cook who is also an important Kuomintang official. The two ladies are retired grocers' wives who have been helping the church for the past twenty years.

The church aims to help the Chinese spiritually and morally. It also assists new immigrants to adjust to new ways of life; and helps elderly Chinese to apply for admission of their members of families to Canada. The church normally holds service on Wednesday and on Sunday. The services are conducted in Cantonese and follow the normal church procedure. On one occasion, the following procedure was being observed:

- a. Call to worship
- b. The Sanctus
- c. Invocatio
- d. Anthem
- e. Announcement
- f. Hymn
- g. Pastoral prayer
- h. Offertory and dedication
- i. Sermon
- j. Hymn

k. Benediction

1. Postlude or confession of sin to be administered by the minister.

The church's Women Society pays regular visits to the sick in the hospitals and is active in raising money for the church and the school. They hold annual sales of articles and food such as Chow Mein, tea and cakes. The admission charge for the sales is \$1.00. Donations of food and money are solicited from the Chinese restaurants and groceries. The bazaar is held in the basement of the church and normally realizes about \$1,500 to \$2,000. The money is donated to church repairs and other charitable purposes.

(vi) The Cantonese School

The school was established by the Chinese United Church and is closely related to the development of the church. In 1932, the first Chinese minister, Feng Tech-man, was said to have taught Chinese to a few adults and about eight children. Due to poor responses, the Chinese class was closed in 1933. It was reopened again in 1939. Rev. C. P. Leong, the then minister was reported to have taken over the responsibilities of teaching Chinese so that they can maintain some degree of Chinese culture identity and prevent total westernization. One of the objectives is to teach them how to read and write Chinese. The students are taught Chinese composition, history, literature, geography, reading, writing and Bible-reading.

The school is supported by the church and the church elders.

It receives financial contributions from the Chinese community as well. The school fee is \$4.00 per month. It holds classes from kindergarten to grade four. In the winter of 1969, the school held two classes and the numbers of students in each class were as follows:

Table XVII

Numbers of Chinese School Students, classified by sex and standard, winter, 1969.

Grade	Class I		Class II	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Grade I	--	7	6	4
Grade II	6	2	4	1
Grade III	2	3	--	1
Grade IV	4	3	--	2
Total:	12	15	10	8

The classes for the winter session run from 5.00 P.M. to 7 P. M. whereas in the summer, the classes are held from 9:30 A.M. to 11:30 A.M. Normally, there are more student enrollments in the summer than in the winter. Attendance in the winter is irregular. The children have to go to English school in the daytime and are tired when they come to the Chinese school. Because of this, they also lose their interests in studying. For some of the parents, the study of Chinese by their children is a side interest. They attach more importance to the English day school where the children are equipped to participate in the larger society.

Each class is in the charge of a qualified teacher trained in Hong Kong. One of the teachers resigned since last May (1969) and has taken work as a hair dresser. The teachers are given an honorarium rather than a regular salary. (The other teacher is the wife of the minister)

The school is not well organized and the facilities are rather poor. The Chinese Benevolent Association is contemplating to the building of a new school with adequate facilities and more qualified teachers. In so doing, they hope the Chinese school will be able to preserve the custom and the culture heritage of the Chinese. The losing of one's culture and language is a problem recognized by community leaders as creating a communication gap between the parents and the children. This is also one of the reasons which may contribute to the breakdown of Chinese family life.

(vii) Recreational and Social Clubs

The Chinese in the city have organized various kinds of clubs for their recreational and leisure activities.

The Chinese Dramatic and Music Club

The Club was formed in 1914. Every Chinese in the city can join as a member and there is no discrimination of clan affiliation, surname ties or party connections.

The present executive board consists of the following members:

<u>Official Positions</u>	<u>Numbers of persons</u>
a. Chairmen:	2(one deputy)
b. Superintendents:	2
c. Secretary:	3
d. Treasurers:	3
e. Public Relations Officers:	3
f. Welfare Officers:	3
g. Miscellaneous Affairs Officers	3

<u>Official position</u>	<u>Numbers of persons</u>
h. Music:	4
i. Stage Affairs:	3
j. Instruments and equipment:	3
k. Make-up	3
<u>Total</u>	<u>30</u>

The election of the official members is also by the traditional "vote-sending" pattern used in the other associations. The Club has staged many public performances to raise funds for the Chinese Benevolent Association, flood victims and war-stricken families in China. It also provides Chinese classical music for the Chinese New Year festival and variety shows. The Club owns many authentic Chinese musical instruments such as the two-stringed violins, banjos, bamboo flutes, clarinets, harp, cymbals, drum and a gong. Some of the instruments are from Hong Kong, Taiwan and some are from Vancouver.

It is to be noted that a few members of the club were educated in a Canton university, and some of them have attended Chinese high school in the old country. They know how to sing traditional Cantonese songs and play classical Chinese music. In practice, they help to correct each other's mistakes and to refine their performances. Some Hong Kong immigrants who joined them recently and they may help to enhance the quality of the performances. Most of the members are restaurant and grocery workers. They work in the daytime and come to practice together from mid-night until 3.00 A. M.

The club members sometimes provide entertainment for themselves if one of the members is celebrating a birthday. They also celebrate their anniversary by organizing a "Chinese music

night". Guests are invited for the occasion. Food, drink and fruit are served. They also worship the Chinese deities known in the Chinese cultural and musical history. Incense sticks and sacrificial food are offered at the altar for these deities. The party normally starts at midnight and ends in the morning.

Chinese Social Clubs

There are about five clubs in the city which provide recreational facilities. Some of these clubs, according to my informants, are, in fact gambling clubs where the clubs may charge a fee to those playing mahjong. They are usually crowded at night when some of the restaurant and grocery workers assemble to have a game of mahjong. The location of these clubs are mainly within the Chinatown districts.

The Chinese Kung-Fu Club

This is a private club established in 1967. It provides instructions in the Chinese art of self-defence. It adheres to the "white-crane style" of defence art which is believed to be a combination of the fighting gestures of a crane with a tiger, and the graceful footwork of the monkey. It has about 50 students, mostly Canadians. The chief instructor (Si-Fu) and three assistant instructors are in charge of various classes throughout the week. The assistants receive an honorarium plus personal instructions from the Si-Fu. The instruction fee is \$10.00 a month.

The training promotes good physical growth and the power of self-control and discipline. It encourages good sportsmanship and develops both mind and body.

Sometimes the club is invited to give a demonstration of the Chinese art of self-defence in a Chinese variety show or on other festive occasions. Recently, it also extended its training programs to the university and the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology.

The Ching-Wu Club

The Club is located at 96th street and Jasper Avenue. It gives instructions in two types of the Chinese art of self-defence. The Southeren style and the Tai-Chik. The main objectives of the club are to maintain Chinese cultural traditions especially in the field of self-defence, to develop good physique and good health, and to promote good mind and character.

The Club was established in early 1970. The classes are usually conducted on Tuesday, Thurday and Saturday for the Tai-Chik (7.00 P.M. to 10.00 P.M.) and for the Southern art of self-defence on alternate days.

The Chinese Recreational Club

The Club was formed in 1966-1967. Its main purposes is to bring together the Chinese youth who are interested in sports and other "healthy" leisure activities. It organizes participant sports such as badminton, curling and bowling. It enters into

friendly matches with other teams from Calgary and Red Deer. During the Easter holidays, the teams from these places will gather together for a competition. The location for the competition rotates each year between Calgary, Red Deer and the Prairie city. The informants note that these matches are more of a social occasion for the people to get together rather than a "real competition".

The Club has about 70 members. Most of them are of the first generation brought up in this country and a few are native-born. A few Canadian also join the club and they are well accepted.

The Club holds a Chinese New Year party and an annual banquet and dance. It is mainly concerned with activities for the younger generation since the elderly are said to have no interest in their activities, for example, dancing in public to modern popular music.

Athletic Clubs

There are two such clubs affiliated with their respective main associations. The Masonic Athletic Club is attached to the Freemasons; and the Chinese Athletic Club is attached to the Chinese Businessmen's Association. These clubs are mainly concerned with recreational, cultural and physical activities. Occasionally, they are requested to demonstrate their arts of self-defence and lion dances in the variety shows and other Chinese social functions. The members of these clubs are mainly first generation youth, some of them newly arrived immigrants.

(viii) The Chinese Students' Association

The Chinese Students' Association was established in 1960 but ceased to be active in 1961-1962 because of poor responses from the Chinese students. However, it was revived in 1963 and has been doing well since then. It had a total membership of 150 in 1967, and 120 in 1969.

It is the Association for all the students of Chinese origin registered in the university. Chinese faculty members are invited to be advisors or to join as honorary members. The objectives of the association are said to be the following:

- a. To render assistance to the Chinese students;
- b. To unite all Chinese students to act for their best interests;
- c. To familiarize students of other nationalities with the Chinese ways of life, culture and traditions.
- d. To create a balanced way of life between studying and recreation and other social activities.

The Association organizes sports such as basketball, badminton, ping-pong and bowling. It also holds a Chinese New Year party, Mid-Autumn party (moon festival) and stages Chinese movie shows.

The Association has members from Southeast Asia, Hong Kong, Taiwan, mainland China, first generation Chinese-Canadians and a few native-born. It is of interest to note that these different groups of Chinese students share different interests and perspectives in life. The native-born are not really interested in the association's activities, for the Association is mainly geared to the needs and interests of Chinese foreign students rather than of the local people. The Association organizes sightseeing trips which are of little interest to the native-born.

The Hong Kong students are said to be cliquish and speak Cantonese among themselves. They are somewhat conservative and bring along their own ways of life. A few native-born note that they are being regarded as "becoming whites" by some Hong Kong "kids" for they cannot speak Cantonese. A few find it hard to get along well with the Hong Kong "boys", for they have different ways of doing things and have a different outlook on life. The Chinese students from Vietnam and Burma are in general not involved in the Association's activities; and the ones from the Philippines are said to associate more with the "whites" rather than with "people of their own kind". The students from Singapore and Malaysia have their own association, and a few of them may participate in the activities that interest them. Some of the students from Taiwan are said to be deficient in communicating with others and are not sociable. They speak mandarin or Hokkien dialect among themselves; and some of them never take the initiative to talk to others. A few native-born remark that some of the Taiwan students they know work very hard but appear to feel insecure and to suffer from "inferiority complexes".

Politics also seems to be of some concern among these foreign Chinese students. The ones from Hong Kong tend to be pro-Mao and some of them are Communist sympathisers; the ones from Formosa are either pro-Chiang or engaged in Taiwan independent movement. The ones from Southeast Asia are cautious not to get too involved in politics or to voice their opinions regarding two Chinas. A few from Thailand claim to be more Thai than Chinese, because of "some persecution of pure

Chinese (alien immigrants) in their own country". Anyway, discussion of politics is forbidden in the Association.

(ix) The Chinese Youth Club

This was formed in early 1969. It is primarily concerned with Chinese youth under the age of 21. The majority of them are still in high school. The club aims to provide a medium for group and personal interaction and provide an avenue for communication among themselves and allow them to engage in social, cultural and recreational activities. The club was established, according to my informants, mainly because most of the social clubs in the city cater to adults and not to teenagers. It claims to have a membership of 120.

It has held several organizational meetings to spell out the rules and the constitution; and also has held a few dance-parties for the teenagers. It is to be noted that some of the members are native-born and a few were born in the old country but have a high degree of acculturation in Western way of life. The club is not active in the summer when most of the teenagers get summer employment elsewhere.

In general, we can note that there are a variety of associations in the Chinese community. The clan, Businessmen and Benevolent associations are usually dominated by elderly people; whereas the younger generation are more concerned with

recreational, athletic, leisure activities. The associations in Chinatown are located close to one another and their pattern of distribution can be seen as follows:

Table XVIII

Pattern of Chinese Associational Location

<u>Location</u>	<u>Number of associations</u>
1. 96th street - 102nd Ave.	2
2. 96th street - 101a st Ave.	4
3. 98th street - 101st Ave.	4
4. 97th street - 101st Ave.	5
5. 97th street - 102nd Ave.	2
6. 97th street - Jasper Ave.	4
Total:	21

Historically, the formation of Chinese associations in North America reflected to a certain degree the needs for security and in-group solidarity among the overseas Chinese. It was partly a form of adaption resulting from racial discrimination exerted by the larger society. This form of Chinese exclusion reinforced the Chinese cultural tradition and the collectivity-mindedness among the early Chinese.

Traditionally, the various Chinese associations in the Prairie Chinatown are said to have caused some friction in the Chinese community, for they have had different objectives and aims. This tends to promote different interest-groups. However, the associations do cooperate for the entire interests of the Chinese community, for example, opposition to the discriminatory immigration legislation, and participation in community projects, like the building of a new Benevolent Chinese Association. The concentration of a variety of Chinese associations together may

facilitate inter-associational communication, especially where there are elite who occupy several associational positions. This also facilitates coordination among various Chinese associations.

It is to be noted that the older generation still adheres to the traditional forms of organisation, whereas the young are organizing their associations or clubs based on the model of the larger society.

(L) The Pattern of Assimilation

the early Chinese immigrants, who came with the intention of accumulating wealth and then returning to their home country for retirement, did not acquire much acculturation in Western life. Most of them came as adults and were deeply rooted in their peasant culture and traditional values. Because of discrimination against them, they tended to group together. This created a kind of group identification and fostered the feeling of the "consciousness of kind." Since most of these immigrants were not well educated and had language barriers in interaction with the whites, their process of assimilation was apparently slow.

The associations that they formed appear to create a kind of group solidarity and to strengthen Chinese sentiments among themselves. They read Chinese newspapers, magazines and story books imported from Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Formosa; and they have cultural attachment and emotional ties with the mother country.

After sojourning for a lengthy period of time, however, they do, in certain respects, acquire some characteristics of Prairie City life. They appear to be more resistant to change in the areas that touch on their internal value, and more susceptible to modification in their outward appearance. They put on Western dress and attire; and when attending special social functions, they put on coat and tie, and even wear a hat. They acquire a minimum working knowledge of English, through their contacts with the whites in their place of work, but they are hardly able to write it. Some of them send flowers to friends that are sick and have dropped the customary habit of bringing food. Some like to listen to

radio and watch television shows; and a few of them may send cards in extending their season greetings. However, in most respects, their mannerisms and way of thinking still are distinctively Chinese.

Among the younger generation, there appear to be three distinct patterns:

(i) The native-born

This group is comparatively few in number, for there were not many Chinese married couples before the Second World War. They were brought up in a new social setting and are more familiar with the Canadian way of life. They feel the least discriminated against by the whites. Even though they are called Chinaman, Chink, "or whatever," they would consider such tormentors as ignorant and uneducated. They hardly know how to read or write in Chinese and most of them speak English at home. Sometimes, when their parents speak to them in Cantonese, they reply in English. They normally have a given European name, or shorten their Chinese names to initials and prefix them to their surnames. They are more independent and reluctant to let their parents interfere with their marriage choices and partners. They would marry a white if they were "sufficiently in love" and do not pay much "heed to parental objection;" after all, these are going "to be their life." They choose their friends on ground of personal and professional interests rather than whether or not they are ethnic Chinese.

Because of their familiarity with the Canadian situation, they are able to conform to the behavioural patterns and social norms of the larger society. They share the same kinds of interests and aspirations

as the Canadians. They value wider social contacts with the Canadians and strive to achieve, if possible, professional performance and self-improvement. A few of them have participated in the activities of Canadian social clubs and in political parties; and some even participate in their neighbourhood community affairs. They look toward the larger society for personal advancement and employment opportunities, and rarely participate in any form of Chinese associational activities. They stress the importance of having a new outlook on life, for otherwise "we will always be laundrymen, cooks and restaurant owners." They do not care much for Chinese culture, for the things Chinese "are impracticable anyway in an English speaking society;" and they "belong to the world of the old-fashioned." They prefer to read English newspapers and magazines, frequent western movie houses, observe Canadian holidays, and appreciate Western sports and music. Even in their food habits, some prefer to have hamburgers, hotdogs, and Pepsi Cola rather than Chop-Suey, Chowmein and Wonton soup; and some prefer to use fork and knives rather than chop-sticks at home. Perhaps, for the purposes of illustration, the following few cases may be useful:

Case (a)

Dean, born in Prairie City, completed Grade 12. He works as a clerk in a publishing house and is paid \$1.75 an hour. He says he experiences no racial discrimination and he has many white friends. In fact, he feels more comfortable with the whites than with the Hong Kong Chinese, for he does not know how to interact with the latter. To him, the Hong Kong Chinese think differently and are conservative. He does

not remit any money to his parents, who now live in St. Paul, for they are quite well-off and do not need his money. He dates white girls and gets along well with them. When he is at home, he speaks English to his siblings. He remarks that Chinese is no longer his language, though he is physically Chinese; and that "does not really mean anything in this society, for if you are good and hardworking, you will be able to achieve success."

Case (b)

M, born locally, is now attending the university. She lives with some of the white girls in an apartment and attends most of their social functions. Her father is a sales manager for a wholesale grocery store, and the family is living in a suburb. She is well accepted and does not feel any prejudice against her. She has dated some white boys despite parental objection. She is interested in skiing, skating, and watching football games. She thinks that the Chinese culture is of no use to her, for she can "live without it." She sees herself first as a Canadian and then as a Chinese. She considers herself different from those "China-boys" who speak a different kind of English and behave differently.

Case (c)

Lee is a second generation native-born whose father was also born in this country. He has a degree in Business Administration from a local university. His family serves Canadian food at home, watches television shows, listens to radio and reads English newspapers and magazines. He considers himself as a Canadian in most respects and does not experience

any form of racial prejudice. He thinks the problem of social discrimination is a matter of cultural differences. Most of the young Canadians are not brought up to be prejudiced - and if they are, "we should blame the parents for inculcating such undesirable social values in young minds." He has many personal contacts with Canadians and likes fishing, hunting, and boating. He attends most of the parties and social events organised by the whites. He lives with his parents in a predominantly white neighborhood.

Case (d)

D, a native-born Chinese girl, completed Grade 12. She now works as a typist in the government service. She does not really know "much about Chinese culture," and admits that she can not speak Cantonese properly. She feels, by clinging to the traditional Chinese culture, one becomes backward-looking rather than progressive. She has a lot of white friends and she visits them quite often. She goes to supermarkets and English bookstores and hardly ever goes to Chinatown, for she cannot get what she wants in Chinatown. She likes to dance and swim and attends parties. She feels that she has broken away from the Chinese way of life and also that she is different from the "China-boys."

(ii) The first generation

This group seems to be comprised of most of the city's Chinese youth. They were born in China or Hong Kong, but were brought up in this country. In general, they are disposed to adopt a Western materialistic

way of life; and exhibit a high degree of acculturation. However, they diverge in their opinions regarding the host society. Some are in favor of the Canadian way of life, some are indifferent and ambivalent, and a few are dissatisfied. Some stand between the ancestral and Canadian cultures and face the dilemmas of both, and exhibit some degree of marginality. Some feel the pressures from the larger society to conform in their ways of doing things; but on the other hand, they have to put up with their elderly parents who may have different sets of expectations. They are socialized by their "China-born" parents and know some of the rudiments and remnants of Chinese tradition and culture.

Some of them feel degraded by their ancestral past in Canada, for it is a history of ill-treatment, humiliation, deprivation, and discrimination by the whites. In their patterns of life, some show a mixture of Eastern and Western elements; for example, they eat hamburger seasoned with soy asuce, use chopsticks in having Western meals, drink coffee instead of tea, eat break, potatoes and salad instead of rice and fried vegetables. For illustration, I will cite the following cases:

Case (a)

H, aged 22 years, was born in the old country and came to Prairie City at the age of six. His father owns a small cafe; and he used to assist him after school hours. He completed Grade 9 and is now working as an electrician in the city. He is paid \$2.50 an hour and earns about \$500 to \$550 per month. He feels some subtle discrimination in terms of employment, for the whites are reluctant to promote an Oriental. If the "yellow" was promoted to the supervisory position, the whites under

him would resign. He feels proud of his black hair, brown eyes, and yellow skin and does not "give a damn" what the whites think. He just works for a living and lives among his "own kind." He likes to fish and hunt and believes in having some leisure activities. He observes some Chinese festivals and returns home during the Chinese New Year. He remits money home sometimes.

Case (b)

D, aged 19 years, came to the city at the age of nine and is the only son in the family. His father owns a grocery store and expects him to assist in running it. He believes there is some value in keeping the Chinese traditions so that the younger generation knows where they really belong to and "would not feel alienated" (meaning behaving like "half-way Chinese and half-way whites"). He does not get much money from his parents for his parents are not rich and have done their duty in bringing him up. He likes the Western way of life, but is cautious not to be "influenced to such a degree" as to become a "pure-white." To become a white is "what you think you are and not really how you look" People can be a Chinese physically, but still behave and think like a white.

Case (c)

W, born in Kai-ping, came to the city at the age of eight and lived here 13 years. He thinks there are both good and bad qualities about Chinese and non-Chinese. Some of the Chinese like to gossip and spread rumours about others. They are worse than whites. Some whites are snobish and think they are superior. W, however, does not judge people by

their skin colour. He has some white friends and talks to them in the cafe sometimes. He will marry whom he likes - not necessarily a Chinese. He likes to see Chinese movies and read Chinese magazines. He makes it a point to visit his younger sister's grave at Ching-Ming and will place a bunch of flower on her grave. His sister passed away when she was young. Visiting her grave is a symbol remembrance. He also tries to be home during the Chinese New Year time. However, he avoids getting work in a Chinese restaurant or grocery, since the Chinese are exploitative and will pay less than others. However, he does feel insulted if someone calls him "Chink" or "Chinaman," for this implies that he is a second class citizen.

Case (d)

A came to Canada 16 years ago at the age of 7. He attended an English school for a few years. He feels dissatisfied with the attitude of both the whites and the Chinese. The whites "by nature" are discriminatory. If you are invited to a party, very few whites will come to talk to you. They will isolate you socially. On the other hand, the Chinese are distrustful. If you join in a business partnership with them, they will try to squeeze you out later on. The Chinese can smile to you outside but "hate you at heart." The only way to show the whites that you are better is to work harder and improve yourself constantly. He would prefer to marry a Chinese girl if possible. He observes Chinese New Year at home, but seldom visits any friend or relative during the festival.

Case (e)

R, aged 21 years old, was born in China and came here at the age of nine. He completed Grade 12 and can speak English fluently. He was involved in several fights in his high school years with some whites because they called him "dirty Chinaman." He thinks most of the whites are "alright" and will accept you; but not the "uneducated lot" - they will find ways to irritate you. He believes in being independent and self-supporting. He wants to have the benefits of both cultures. He enjoys Western popular music and dance, while at the same time, he also participates in the lion dance and in the exercise of the Chinese art of self-defense. As regards the issue of racial prejudice, it "depends very much on how you take it." But one has to be cautious in distinguishing an act that is discriminating and an act which is culturally a different way of doing things. We need mutual understanding and tolerance to live together with others.

(iii) The "China-boys"

this is what the native-born call the newly arrived Chinese youth from the old country. They think the ones from China or Hong Kong are in general conservative and do not share the same kinds of interests as they do. The China-boys are cliquish, only speak Cantonese among themselves, and are artificial in their interrelationship with others. They are reserved, old-fashioned and are not interested in Canadian sports and other recreational activities.

The China-boys, however, think that the native-born are losing their culture and Chinese identity. They are too much involved in the Western romantic and "sensate" way of life. They want to behave like whites, even though their skin colour is yellow. In the city where there are so many different ethnic groups living together, they find it hard to figure out what is a distinctively Canadian way of life. There are Italian, German, Dutch, Ukrainians and English; and each is different from the others.

The China-boys claim that they have a country and a culture to "hold onto" and do not have to live under "the command of others." Some Hong Kong girls note that they may like some aspects of the Western materialistic life but avoid having too much to do with the Canadians - for one thing, they would never have a Canadian for their husband since "they are not trustworthy and may lose interest in you easily."

Most of these "China-boys" have come here within the past few years and are few in number. Some of them have a problem in communicating with others, and a few are said to keep to themselves.

There are differences among these three groups of Chinese youth, yet they are all constantly under the pressure and influences of the larger society. They will change and adapt in accordance with the different opportunities that are offered to them. It is to be noted that none of the group is especially attracted by the social institutions in Chinatown.

Certainly, there are assimilative variations even within each group. The above distinctive pattern is based on the observation and interviews of 15 native-born Chinese, 35 first generation youth, and 24 youngsters newly arrived from Hong Kong and mainland China.

(r) Community Life

As the Chinese say, "Though the sparrow is small, all its internal organs are perfect." The Chinese community is a little one where everybody knows practically everyone else. There is Chinatown gossip about a particular family, about a particular feud, about the success and failure of a business, about the arrival and departure of a certain person and about the general living affairs.

There is a bulletin board on the wall of a Chinese grocery in Chinatown where news about the community is announced. The Chinese Benevolent Association, various clan associations and political parties may make use of the bulletin board by announcing their impending meetings to the public. Some associations may organise a spring festival or conduct an ancestor worship, the news of which is also released on the walls of Chinatown. News about variety shows, Chinese movies, business advertisement, the death of someone, selling of restaurant and grocery stores, and an announcement to sell anything are posted there as well. All the news items and advertisements are written in Chinese.

Perhaps, for purposes of discussion, we can describe the community in the following categories:

(a) The different modes of life

It appears that there are some significant differences in the pattern of life among the older generation (those who were born in the old country but were brought up here) and the native-born. To a large extent, they seem to assume a different outlook and ways of life.

The older generation has been subjected to racial discrimination and is sensitive to the issue of racial prejudice. They often untiredly describe to the younger people "those hard days that they had suffered," and the "vicious nature" of the whites. They adhere to Chinese mannerisms and their own way of thinking, and they confine their social activities to their friends and relatives. They talk about the old country way of life and do not believe in recreational or leisure activities.

Most of the elderly people are members of the Chinese associations; and the associations are the centers of their social activities. They visit the association to chat with other friends, to exchange news and information about family events and what they know about China from the letters they received from home. They also make contact with the newly arrived immigrants to find out about changes in China and in Hong Kong. These informal social gatherings appear to give them a sense of belonging, and a sense of country-feeling seems to prevail in the association. Some of the old folk who stay in the rooming houses or the associational premises may spend their time reading the newspapers, listening to radio, or watching television shows. Some simply walk around the street corners, and some may plant some vegetables in front and at the back of the associational headquarters during the summer.

Some of the old women prefer to stay at home and go to town only on special occasions. They keep themselves busy in doing family chores and other domestic services. They sometimes go to shop in Chinatown but seldom go to the supermarkets. They visit friends and relatives during festive occasions. Some of them still put on Chinese dress and bring their children along whenever they go to attend a party.

The first generation seems to prefer the Western materialistic aspects of life. They like sport cars, Western dress and Western food. They see Chinese movies and opera at times, but seldom participate in the associational activities. Some of them assist their parents in running a restaurant or a grocery store and may take some time off to play basketball, badminton or curling. They may attend a party organized by their peer group, drinking beer and dancing to Western music. They go to Canadian schools and communicate among themselves in English. They may join in celebration of some of the Chinese festivals and practice the Chinese art of self-defense.

The native-born find themselves different from those who were born in China. Being brought up in the Canadian environment, they do not evident many Chinese cultural influences. They know their way around and are confident in dealing with the members of the larger society. They like fishing, hunting, skiing, holidaying and the general Canadian tastes. They seldom see Chinese movies or opera. They do not know how to identify the lunar calendar. Neither do they know when the Chinese New Year or other festivities take place unless someone informs them. They believe leisure activities are essential in maintaining a balanced way of life. They organize birthday parties, New Year's parties and celebrate Christmas festivals. They prefer Western movies and music and seldom go to any social clubs in Chinatown.

The three different behavioural patterns among the elderly, the first generation, and the native-born may represent different expectations and different outlook on life.

(b) Customs, festivals, and religious beliefs

The customary Chinese celebration and festivals are not extensively carried out in the city. Even the newly arrived immigrants do not observe the festivities seriously. Some Chinese celebrate the festivals without understanding the historical significance underlying the practices. In the city, some of the custom and festivals remaining are as follows:

(i) The Chinese New Year

This is still celebrated with some degree of enthusiasm. Festivities take place in the clan associations or in family groups. In a few homes, the Chinese words of good luck, prosperity, and "Kong Yee Fatt Choy" are written on red paper and placed on the walls. In a few instances, money wrapped in red packets is given to the children. Some of the Chinese grocery stores, restaurants, and shops are closed on the New Year days. Some of the elderly people still believe in settling debts before the New Year eve. Some homes are painted anew and decorated for the occasion. However, some of the native-born are not really serious about the celebration. They do not return home for a family get-together on New Year's eve.

Gifts and rice-cakes are exchanged among the friends and relatives and visiting is conducted. Sometimes, Chinese movies, a lion dance and firecrackers are featured to mark the occasion in Chinatown.

(ii) The dragon-boat festival

This falls on the fifth day of the fifth moon. It commemorates the death of a patriotic poet Chu Yuan, who was falsely accused of being disloyal and who, in order to prove his honesty and purity, drowned himself. The dragon regattas symbolize the search for his body. Rice is thrown into the sea for the spirit; and in order to prevent the fish from eating the rice, it is wrapped up in bamboo leaves. This is said to be the origin of a special dumpling or "glutinous rice" boiled in bamboo leaves. This roud is used to mark the occasion in some of the Chinese-Canadians' homes. It is also sold in the Chinese grocery stores during the festive occasion.

(iii) The Mid-Autumn (Moon) Festival

This festival falls on the 15 of the 8th moon. It is commonly believed that the wife of an alchemist, Chang-Ngo, stole the drug of longevity and flew into the clouds and landed on the moon. It is also connected with a revolutionary sotry in which the Chinese rose against the Mongols when the moon-cakes were used to hide the revolutionary message. The prairie Chinese celebrate the occasion by eating mooncakes, water chestnuts, candy, and watermelon seeds.

Double Ten Day

Before 1949, the local Chinese celebrated the Double-ten day with colourful celebration and gaiety. It was the occasion which marked the day of the Manchu overthrow by the Republican revolutionists.

Sporting events, festive dances, parades, theatrical performances and dinner parties were held to mark the occasion. However, since the defeat of Kuomintang in mainland China, the enthusiasm for the celebration has been on the wane. It is now mainly the "family affair" of the Kuomintang and only a few Chinese participate in the celebration. With recent Ottawa's recognition of Peking, this celebration will gradually disappear.

Religious Practices

Some of the Chinese are Christians, belonging to the Chinese United Church. They observe most of the Christian holidays, such as Christmas and Easter.

However, for the majority, there appears to be lack of religious practice. There is no Mahayana Buddhist Temple; neither is there any Taoist practice, nor any form of syncretic religions. The native-born denounce the old forms of religious practices as magic and superstition.

There are very few homes where one can find the altar or shrine to worship Chinese deities or goddesses. Soul-tablets are absent in funeral rites, and are not being kept in the association or in the home. The traditional kitchen god has disappeared from the Chinese-Canadian homes.

Among the older generation, ancestor worship is still observed but at a superficial level. The Chinese associations may hold a simple ceremony in the premises or visit the Chinese graveyard. In celebrating, the burning of paper money, incense-sticks and joss-sticks are not regarded as important items. Some of the prominent members of the associations note that ancestor worship is to them a form of memorialism and is a way to remind the living about the ancestral virtue and morals.

This is to create unity and respect among the living members of clan associations. The fact that they neither keep soul-tablets nor carry out the elaborate form of worshipping is because this is not their "original home."

Some of the elderly still observe the Ching-Ming festival - the customary occasion to sweep the ancestral graves. Some visit the graves and offer the sacrificial food to the spirits. Some lay flowers and wreaths instead. To some of them, this is a mark of remembrance and a way to show reverence to the departed spirit. Some of my informants note that the burning of paper money and incense-sticks is seldom carried out for it may arouse the curiosity of the whites who will stare and ask questions. One informant recalled that on one occasion, when he did offer food to the ancestors, a white remarked that his ancestor would not come out to eat the food; he replied neither did European ancestors come out to smell the flowers. Among the younger generation, the offering of food to the spirits is regarded as old-fashioned and not sensible.

Before the Second World War, the city's Chinese sent the deceased's bones or cremated ashes back to China for burial in the old village. This is not carried out now, for there are rumours that the communists might use it for fertilizing purposes.

Very few funeral rites in the city are carried out in the traditional Chinese way. It is usually the mixture of the Christian rite and some Chinese traditionalism. The following are two instances of funeral rites I observed in the city.

(i) A Chinese Christian funeral rite

The deceased was kept in the funeral home. The minister from the Chinese United Church presided over the rite. He said prayers, explained the meanings of life and death and cited the Bible extensively. Friends and relatives paid their last respects and sympathy by sending or presenting flowers. A relative of the departed read a eulogy, relating the life history of the deceased. Later, the minister said a few words to console the members of the family. The friends and relatives were then lined up in front of the casket and bowed three times to the deceased.

The casket was carried by the friends to a hearse and was taken to the Chinese cemetery. At the grave-side, the minister conducted a brief service, blessing the departed and the living members of the family. No post-funeral rite was carried out by the members of the family.

(ii) A westernized Chinese funeral

The deceased was a prominent member of an association and the funeral was held in a building owned by that association. The words of grief and the Chinese quotations for the occasion were written on the white cloths and hung on the walls. Some sacrificial food was offered but no incense-sticks were burned. The members of the family were all dressed in black. Friends and relatives paid their respects by bowing to the deceased. A relative read the eulogy and listed the deceased's contribution to the association and to the Chinese community. The minister was invited to come later to offer prayers. Later, hymns were sung by some members of the Church. None of the deceased's members of family ever knelt in front of the casket. In lining up to bow, the siblings

did not observe their order of birth in the traditional funeral rite. The elder son did not take the prominent role in the rite and neither did he and the siblings sit around the casket as had been customary. There was a funeral procession, with decorated hearse. The immediate members of the family and the associational members walked behind the hearse; and sad music was played by the Chinese troupe.

It is to be noted that very few members of the bereaved family observed the mourning rites. They wore the black arm-band during the funeral rite but these were discarded after the burial. The family had to be reminded by some elderly people to put the black arm-band in the proper and correct way - for the deceased father, on the left; and for the mother, on the right.

There was also no assignment of mourning grades among the members of the family kinsmen. The mourning grade which was important in the traditional rite, indicated the degree of interrelationship of kinship to the deceased and showed generational differences. With the gradual disappearance of traditional mourning rites, the Chinese have begun to conduct their funeral arrangement in the Western ways.

There are four cemeteries in the city in which the Chinese bury their dead:

- a. one is located at 107th Avenue and 118th Street,
- b. one is at Mount Pleasant Cemetery,
- c. one is at Beechmount Cemetery,
- d. one is located at 97th Street and 124th Avenue where there is a plot specially reserved for the Chinese.

In general, the structure and the mould of the graves are the same as those of the Canadians. In most instances, the gravestones are inscribed with Chinese words, indicating the dates of birth and death, homeland village and their names. In some instances, the Republican Chinese date

is used; and in a few cases, the English names of the deceased are inscribed. One gravestone for example, is inscribed as follows: "Yet You, 1875-1958," "He loved his fellow man." There are a few graves in which the husband and wife are buried side by side. To "reserve" a grave for a living man is not practised here.

Few Prairie City Chinese believe in geomancy - the selection of a harmonious grave site by the principles of the confluence of mountain, river, and wind; the location of which would bring prosperity and good luck to the family. The location of the cemetery and government restrictions on the space of graves make this practice impossible.

(c) Social events, recreational and leisure activities

The typical recurring events in Chinatown are banquets and dinner parties, organised by the various Chinese associations in celebrating their anniversary or ancestral birthdays. The older generation, women and children all dress up for the occasion. Sometimes, Cantonese movies are also shown in the nearby theatres. The spring festival is commonly observed by most of the associations. Big banquets are held in the Chinatown restaurants. Wine is served and most of the people eat to "their hearts content."

A prominent member of a Chinese association once held a New Year party, inviting the city important political leaders, aldermen, influential businessmen, and the foreign consulate corps. This was intended to extend the Chinese New Year greeting to the larger society. As noted

by an official of an association, the Chinese "are hindered by language barriers and psychological differences; they seldom venture forth to mingle with the other people;" they could "operate efficient restaurants and grocery stores, (but) they failed miserably to associate, entertain, and break the bounds of sociability." Therefore, they take the opportunity of the New Year to extend good will and friendship to the others so as to promote mutual understanding.⁹

A group of local Chinese youth also organize a New Year's party annually among themselves. They hold their functions interchangeably at the Polish Hall, Chateau Lacombe and the Seven Seas Restaurant. They decorate the premises in an Oriental fashion, featuring Chinese cultural programs and lion dance. They dance to the tunes of the Chinese and Western music. Canadians are normally invited to participate.

The Chinese Benevolent Association staged a variety show in 1969 to celebrate the "Year of the Rooster". The program was held at the Jubilee Auditorium and the proceeds collected went to the Canadian Cancer Society and the Chinese Benevolent Association's building fund. The show featured the colour and splendour of the Oriental civilization and cultural life. It included a dragon dance, the art of self-defence, a Cantonese opera, a Chinese fashion show, classical music, the flower drum dance and the wine cup dance performed by Chinese dancers from Vancouver. The Benevolent Association also organized in 1967 a group of teenage girls called the "China Dolls". They provide entertainment at the New Year festival, Klondike Day parade and the half-time of football games featuring China as the theme.

It is to be noted that most of the Chinese associations provide newspapers, magazines, and Chinatown News from Vancouver, Toronto, Taiwan,

Hong Kong and the United States. The popular newspapers published in Canada are The Chinese Times, established by the Freemason, and The New Republican, connected with the Kuomintang.

The coming of wives and children may provide normal family life again for some of the Chinese immigrants and may minimize their extensive evening involvement in gambling. It should be noted that gambling is a common form of leisure activity among the elderly Chinese, though it is not popular among the native-born. Some old informants remark that "gambling to the Chinese is just like drinking beer among the Canadians." In fact, some of them even note that gambling is connected with upper-class living in Hong Kong. They are fond of playing mahjong, Paikau (牌九), and Pak-Ku-Pu (白鴿票). Fan-tan is played sometimes under cover, for it is against the law.

At present, there appears to be four gambling premises in Chinatown, using fashionable names such as "service club," "recreational club," or "social club." One of them is operating in the headquarters of a political party. There is no "opium-smoking parlors" available; neither is there a brothel. The Chinese prostitutes are normally frowned upon and are regarded as "low-down." At one time, there was a rumour that a few Chinese prostitutes from Vancouver came to the city to "practice" for a few nights in a Chinatown hotel, and they were said to have "made a considerable sum of money."

Recreational and leisure activities are conditioned by the type of occupation and employment among the Chinese. For example, most of the restaurant and grocery workers have to work long and irregular hours and are hardly able to participate in the popular leisure activities like fishing, hunting, and camping. If they have spare time, they will visit

friends, see movies, listen to radio and read Chinese books.

At times, a dinner party is held in the restaurant among friends and relatives for a person departing or coming back from a visit in Hong Kong or China. The elderly sometimes celebrate their birthdays by throwing a big dinner party for friends and members of the clan association. Those who financially able, will donate some money to the Chinese associations, school, church or other charitable cause. For the younger generation, a birthday party is organised in the Western way. They hold a party with a social dance, birthday cakes, and drinks. They also exchange cards and gifts for the occasion.

Occasionally, a dinner party will be given if one has a son born to the family; eggs painted in red will be distributed among friends and relatives. The party is held either when the son is one month old or a year old.

The wedding ceremony is normally carried out in the Canadian style. In some instances, it is a mixture of the Eastern and Western elements. The wedding rite is conducted in the church. Well wishes and monetary gifts (wrapped in red paper) are received from the relatives at home. A wedding reception is usually held in a Chinese restaurant. The groom and the bride go around the tables and express personal thanks to the attending guests. Later, a toast is proposed to the newlyweds.

The older generation still clings to a certain extent, to their forms of social life; but much of it is undergoing changes nowadays under the impact and influences of the Western society.

(G) The Community's Problems

Though the community exists as a functional whole, it is not as closely knit as it appears to be. There are internal conflicts and problems due to different group affiliations, different political opinion, different socio-economic competition, different kinds of westernized behaviour, different degrees of sophistication and cosmopolitan behavioural patterns.

The newly arrived immigrants tend to settle in the city and many of them have acquired an urban way of life in Hong Kong. They make use of the facilities provided in Chinatown and depend to a certain degree on the social institution of Chinatown. Their attitude and outlook of life are different from the older immigrants who came from a peasant background in traditional China. However, the differences between the old established families and the new immigrants does not result in conflict or acute competition in employment.

In general, some of the community's problems can be delineated as follows:

(a) The generation gap

The elderly people seem to perpetuate a kind of ethnic stereotype and cultural identity of the Chinese in the city. Coming from an old China that is no more, they believe in the traditional cultural values, such as thrift, frugality and deprivation for future comfort. As some of my informants put it, "Better taste the bitter first than the sweet;" "every grain of rice is the sweat of the farmer;" and "if we can taste

the bitter of the bitter, we will be the men on the men."

The younger generation, knowing little about China, do not take seriously the "old China virtue." They go to Canadian schools and are brought into a different cultural environment. They experience Canadian life and have an adequate knowledge of English. Robert Park once remarked that the Oriental who is "born in America and educated in Western schools is culturally an occidental, even though he is racially an Oriental."¹⁰

Some degree of cultural conflict has been observed in some of Prairie City's Chinese-Canadian homes. The elderly people who have established behavioural patterns and who believe in traditional norms and sanctions, are too demanding of their children. They think the younger generation today is less respectful and demonstrates less filial piety for their parents. They do not know how to value hard-earned money and are irresponsible. They do not "even know how to use the chop-sticks properly, let alone the customary mannerisms." The younger generation, however, protests that the elder cannot see things as they see them - they have different ways of looking at the reality and are not practical. The old are conservative and their "China-ways" do not actually fit into the living patterns of contemporary society. Some youths think the elders' virtue of frugality is meaningless, for money is meant to be spent.

The young have the better opportunities in seeking employment in the larger society and depend more on the larger social institutions. Some youths think that if they are unemployed, they can depend on social security or on social welfare provisions. They feel the pressure from the dominant society and are no longer passive in meeting the challenge. Some of the youths are ambitious and want to get "a good deal" from the society; and some are materialistic and tend to be self-centered.

Language is also a problem for adequate communication between parents and children in some of the homes. Some of the children are sent to attend Cantonese evening school in order to brush up their own dialect, hoping that this may help in overcoming some of the difficulties.

Some youths who were born and brought up in the old country and came over after the Second World War, seem to exhibit an ambivalent attitude toward their elders. There is lack of emotional and affectional ties. However, they manage to live together as a family.

(b) Socio-economic problems

Traditionally, there is some degree of disunity and differences among the Chinese due to different county origins or "clannishness." A Mah, bound by obligation, will tend to assist another Mah to get a job in a restaurant. A Gee from Toi-shan will ask another Gee, also from the same district, to look after his business when he goes back to China for a visit. The Chinese form a united front only when they encounter difficulties with the dominant society, like the ill-treatment of Chinese and the inhuman immigration laws.

Rivalry for economic interests is evident to some degree in the little Chinatown. Since most of them are operating the same kind of business, such as restaurants and grocery stores, changes of prices to attract customers and competition for merchandise may create some friction among themselves. The establishment of new shops of the same kind and other commercial transactions may effect the economic conditions of some of them adversely. A new grocery established by a few key members of a political party in the city has created some concerns among the owners

of other grocery stores in Chinatown. The new store sells some imported merchandise cheaply in order to attract people and to "publicize" the new shop; however, the other owners think that "they are playing dirty", "undercutting", and hope the shop "will go bankrupt" - they even told some of their customers not to join that political party for it is corrupted. A "Nanking" restaurant was opened a few months ago and some of the cooks and owners of the other restaurants visited the restaurant and spread the rumour that the cook was inexperienced, unskilled and put "too much soy sauce in the food". It is "better to eat at home than to go to that restaurant". The Nanking restaurant was subsequently closed down.

It is to be noted that some of the businessmen who assume some important functions in the Chinese associations have some economic side-interests. For example, Yip, who owns a travel agency in Chinatown and who is an executive member of both his clan association and the Chinese Benevolent Association, is always selling travel tickets for those who who want to return to China permanently or for a holiday. He also arranges tickets for those members of the local families who are in Hong Kong and intend to come to Canada. Because of his associational position and his knowledge of English and because he knows how to approach the government bureaucracy, the elderly people tend to go to him for travel arrangements. He has, to a certain extent, monopolized the travel business in Chinatown.

A restaurant and grocery owner, whose shops are located next to a clan association is a prominent member of a political party and the Chinese Benevolent Association; he is also the treasurer of these organisations. Whenever the associations organize any party or festival, it is always held in his restaurant; whenever the associations purchase any goods

and stationary, it is also from his shop. There seems to develop some "functional interdependence" between his businesses and the associational activities. For example, if his shop is busy, the associations may postpone holding the festival or party for a week or two; and it is only from his shops that the associations can get a "better deal" and cheaper rate.

Mah, an insurance agent, is an important member of his clan association and the dramatic society. He assists the elderly people in writing letters home and in filling out application forms. He gets to know "many people" by performing these informal functions; and he is known for being helpful. Because of these connections, he sells a good deal of insurance to Chinatown residents and makes a good profit. He is also known as the "insurance Mah" in Chinatown.

In the old days, the source of normative order in the community was the customs and tradition observed by the people. The community's leaders still exercise informal social control based on these customary rules of conduct. This informal social control has been institutionalized to a certain degree for the regulation of internal conflicts in Chinatown. The old will submit, even today, some of their personal grievances and business disputes to the elders for settlement and negotiation.

(c) Political factions

The first Chinese organisation in Canada was founded by the Chih Kung Tang, the Chinese Freemason. It gained its traditional foothold in British Columbia where the Chinese first came. The first chapter of the Chih Kung Tang was founded at Barkerville in 1862 and the other

chapters were established in other gold-mining towns and Victoria. The organization "predated by 22 years the formation of the Chinese Benevolent Association in Victoria in 1884."¹¹ From British Columbia, the influence of the Chih Kung Tang spread to the Prairie provinces.

Subsequent to Chih Kung Tang, two other forms of political organizations were established in Canada. Kang Yu-wei, the head of the Monarchist movement came to British Columbia in 1899 and organized a branch of the Empire Reform Association in 1901. His disciple and student Liang Chi-ch'ao, also came to Canada in 1903, to propogate his political thinking. Sun Yat-sen, the revolutionary, came to British Columbia in 1898 and again in 1911, to enlist support and solicit financial contribution for the revolutionary cause. Sun was said to have been able to ally the forces and support from the chapters of Chih Kung Tang in North America. In British Columbia, the chapters "mortgaged their building to raise money for the Republican cause."¹²

The early Chinese were affected by the changes of their homeland politics. The Chih Kung Tang, which shared the same goal as the Kuomintang in overthrowing the Manchus, supported the Republican revolution but claimed to derive no benefits whatsoever from the success of the Kuomintang. In 1946, an attempt was made by Sz Tho Mei Tong, a member of the Chih Kung Tang in San Francisco, to form a party at Shanghai which was to comprise all the Chinese Masonic organizations throughout the world; the Chih Kung Tang later aimed to join the "scramble for seats in the Chinese National Assembly, but dissension within the party itself led to its disintegration."¹³

The Kuomintang established its consulate and embassy office in Ottawa in 1942. Thereafter, it exerted its political influence on all

its branches across the country. It was alleged by some of the Prairie Chinese that, at one time, the Kuomintang officials from Vancouver assumed extra-territorial power and judicial authority in questioning Chinese who were thought to be involved in communist activities.

Some of the prominent and ordinary members of the city's Chih Kung Tang have shifted their political allegiance from Kuomintang to Peking. They think the Kuomintang is corrupted and dictatorial; and feel proud of Communist China's achievements in atomic weapons, space satellite, industrial production, and her victorious participation in the Korean War. As Peking gains more political momentum and prestige in international politics, coupled with the recent recognition of Peking by the Canadian government, this political identification and allegiance will be reinforced. However, there is also a recent indication that the Chih Kung Tang tend to follow their own interests in Canadian politics. They discard the way in which the Republican government records years and dates, and they talk in terms of whether the Conservatives or the Liberals are more concerned with the interests of the Chinese-Canadians.

The Kuomintang has attempted to gain a foothold in Prairie City's Chinese community. The Taiwan embassy and consulate officials had sent letters, news, magazines and other propaganda materials to the various Chinese associations. The Kuomintang officials paid regular visits to discuss the current homeland political situation and the strategy in combating Communist influences. Taiwan also sent a cultural mission and a trade mission to visit the Chinese communities across the country, and during these missions, the local Chinese were reminded of their homeland loyalties and of the inhuman rule of Peking.

The Kuomintang was opposed to Canadian recognition of Peking and enlisted support from the Chinese leaders and the local Chinese community. The Taiwan ambassador was reported to have appealed to "the sense of justice and fair play of the Canadian people not to recognise the Mao Tsetung regime." (Edmonton Journal, February 8, 1968) Taiwan promised to do more trade and import more products from Canada. They spelled out that the government of Taiwan "was the center of hope for the future of China." (Edmonton Journal, August 13, 1968)

A group of Chinese who claimed to represent the Chinese community and were led by a university faculty member from Manitoba, petitioned the foreign minister not to recognise Peking and warned that "the recognition of China would open the floodgates to communist agents on this continent." (Edmonton Journal, August, 1968) The Canadian government indicated that they would recognise the de facto government that is in actual control of China; and China's 800 million people is a potential market for Canadian wheat sales. With the subsequent recognition of Peking by Ottawa, it is envisaged that the Taiwan embassy and consulate office and all its branches across the country will be disbanded and dissolved.

There are also some pro-Taiwan elements in the local community. Some of these people had been related to the Republican cause in the earlier days, had assumed the Kuomintang's positions in the old country and in Formosa, or had their property and houses in China confiscated by the communists. They tend to be hostile to the Peking regime, and they warn of the bad consequences of Ottawa's recognition of Peking. There are also people who are politically neutral; and some are politically apathetic. Some view the current political events in China with mixed feelings and emotions.

It is to be noted that some of the first generation Chinese youth are sympathetic to Peking and feel proud of China's reemergence as a major power. However, some of the native-born are more concerned with Canadian politics and affairs.

There is also a movement in the city, mainly carried out by some foreign students from Formosa and a few university faculty members, advocating an independent Taiwan. These individuals think the rule of Chiang Kai-shek is despotic, militaristic and corrupted. They are dissatisfied with his government, while at the same time, they do not want to be ruled by Peking. For them, the only way left open is the road for independence. The Kuomintang agents are said to watch closely the development of this group and would make arrests if sufficient evidence was gathered.

Though the city's Chinese differ in their views on politics, they try to maintain some degree of interrelationship and communication at the associational level. When a clan or a political organisation is celebrating its anniversary, the other association will send a congratulatory message, a monetary contribution (about \$5.00 or \$10.00) or flowers for the occasion. Sometimes, they may send representatives to attend each other's social functions. In most of the occasions when they are together, they seem to avoid talking politics, for it tends to produce more disagreement than compromise.

(d) Social problems

Other than the slum-appearance of Chinatown, the community appears to be orderly and does not have much entanglement with the police or

other law enforcement agencies. Even arrests for gambling, according to my informants, are decreasing.

There are some elderly people who are still living as sojourners, and are in a constant dilemma of whether to return to China or to stay in the city. They have been here for a long time and have spent most of their youth and strength in this country. Due to family and political changes in homeland, they may find a China which is no longer the one before they left. They will need readjustment if they choose to return. As one old man says, "What can we do in China today? We are too old to do anything. Here is our second home and we can still live on the government old age pension. Moreover, most of our friends and relatives have died off."

Some of the elderly people are living in rooming houses with poor housing and meager social facilities. Life for them is lonely. There is a proposal by several community leaders to set up an old folks home for these people, so that they can have a place to which they can belong and organise their life together. They are reluctant to go to the Senior Citizens' homes where they will have to live together with the whites, because of their earlier experiences of suffering discrimination.

Newly arrived immigrants may have some language problems and may need adjustment to the new ways of life. Some of the young immigrants find that most of the available employment for them appears to be work in the restaurants and groceries. They receive low pay and have to work long hours. They feel inferior and bitter because their type of training and knowledge are not appreciated by the larger society. They feel discriminated against in the field of employment.

There appears to have been very few cases of Chinese delinquents in Chinatown. So far, only a few cases have come to the attention of the local welfare agencies.

A boy, aged 17, of Chinese father and white mother, was charged for stealing a shirt and was placed on probation. He came from a problem family in which the father was a drug addict and the mother was weak. His sister ran away from home and his younger brother was also charged for assault. They were often truant from school, roamed the streets and were neglected at home. Because of the parents' inability to look after them, they were subsequently sent to the welfare home.

Another boy, about 16 years of age, was arrested for damaging personal property and was placed on probation. He was of a Chinese father and a Danish mother. He was said to have been quarrelsome, and he used to run away from home. He has subsequently been found to have a mental problem and has been sent to a provincial mental institute. He has three brothers and two sisters and they have presented no problems. The relationship between them appears to be satisfactory.

There is only one Chinese boy in the Diagnostic Center. He came with his mother to the city and later was left to the care and supervision of his paternal uncle. He was charged with committing theft.

(e) Chinatown and urban renewal

It is said that Chinatown seems to perpetuate a kind of peasant cultural identity and that it reflects to a certain degree the outlook and folk-beliefs of the older generation. They are found in the run-down districts of the city, in decayed buildings and in overcrowded

conditions.

The city council of Prairie City has decided to embark upon an urban renewal program to re-develop the general physical, social and economic environment of the "skid-row" areas, to relieve the poor living conditions, congested thoroughfares, general untidiness, the problems of dust and noise, and aged buildings. The urban renewal programs have been regarded as the way whereby the city can revitalize and rehabilitate the rundown areas of the inner city. By so doing, the city can thus hopefully be rejuvenated. However, the program of urban renewal seems to have a positive effect upon the general socio-human problems.

Some of the Chinese families have been living in the downtown areas for many years; they have had to depend on Chinatown to provide some of their social and cultural needs. Some stay close to Chinatown because this is where they work. Urban renewal may mean family displacement and relocation for them. Moreover, they fear that they may live in a white neighbourhood where they will not be welcome; and rehousing may increase their cost of living and house rent.

The elderly have been living in rooming houses and associational premises since they were young. They have developed important social ties and relationships with each other; in addition, Chinatown is their familiar living environment. They know where to go to get what they want. The relocation of the elderly may threaten their continued existence as a group and may deprive them of their social, cultural, and economic needs. They are suspicious and apathetic toward the proposed renewal programs.

In his report on "Relocation in New York city," Panuch noted that "forcing peoples to leave their old neighbourhood is probably the major

source of bitterness and opposition to slum clearance. Slums, after all, are neighbourhoods and communities. They teem with people who like the place in which they live for simple but deep-rooted reasons."¹⁴

Renewal also causes anxiety among Chinatown's businessmen. They doubt their property will be adequately compensated by the government; and they may not do as good business in the new location as they now do. They may lose most of their customers. The removal of their present business location may effect their general economic conditions.

It seems that there are two main different opinions regarding the continued existence of Chinatown. Some advocate that the Chinatown should be kept alive within the framework of the urban renewal project. The city's Chinese are said to be "very adamant that their Chinatown will not be relegated to the pages of history." (Edmonton Journal, November, 16, 1968) They plead for the continued existence of Chinatown, for it is essential for their social life together and a way to preserve their culture, tradition, and Chinese way of life. Chinatown is more than just a place to do business; it is the locus of their social networks, language school, church service and social clubs. They fear encroachment on their Chinatown by private capitalists who may manipulate the whole enterprise of urban renewal. They cite the examples of several chinatowns in the United States, such as those in Chicago, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles and Honolulu where Chinatowns have either been relocated or obliterated. The relocation of these Chinatowns has caused many sufferings to Chinese families and businessmen.

Some of my informants note that if Chinatown has to go, the government should rebuild a new Chinatown. They envisage that the new Chinatown not only should maintain its oriental character, but also should

maintain a large degree of Chinese social life together. They suggest that the new Chinatown should consist of various oriental styles of building, artificial gardens, fascinating restaurants, Chinese theatres, colourful gift shops, antique shops and numerous groceries where one can find the peculiar items and delicacies of the East. It would attract not only tourists, but also serve as a Chinese cultural center within the framework of the complex mosaic of Canadian life.

The city's Chinese Benevolent Association has submitted a brief to the city council advocating either the preservation or the rebuilding of Chinatown. In a conference on urban renewal and Chinatown held in Calgary in 1969, the provincial premier was quoted as saying that the government is "committed to a pluralistic society and Chinatown fits into this framework; Chinatown is an important part of the community." (Edmonton Journal, April 9, 1969) However, the Urban Renewal official stated that, "a new Chinatown cannot be assured, until all the problems of land economics, density, land use and suitability or existing implementation and legislation have been explored." (Edmonton Journal, June 23, 1969)

There are also some people who proposed breaking up Chinatown. Under the pressure of modern city life, Chinatown has a tenuous relationship with the rest of the city. The congested houses, the unsatisfactory mixture of houses and businesses, and the run-down appearance may create unsatisfactory impressions of the Chinese. To them, Chinatown does not provide for social and cultural needs. Moreover, it poses a social barrier for greater social integration and assimilation into the larger society. My informants stated that it is degrading to keep a place which serves the curiosity appetites of the whites. With the decline of the

older generation and the gradual moving away of the younger generation, Chinatown will become a business district rather than a residential area. They believe that Chinatown will decline just as the Chinese hand laundries had.

There is some degree of conflict being generated by the discussion on the continued existence of Chinatown. Those who advocate its existence are said to be protecting their own economic self-interests rather than seeking protection for the interests of the entire community. Those who advocate a new Chinatown are said to be working under a different set of motives, in order that they may compete for favourable business location, new commercial space, and a new market. Some capitalists are said to be preparing to monopolize the whole renewal enterprise by pouring in large capital investments.

In Chinatown today, there are people who are sincerely and genuinely concerned with the livelihood and culture of the Chinese under the threat of urban renewal. Some Chinese associations may lose their property and premises. Some others may lose their businesses. However, it appears that the native-born do not involve themselves too much in this Chinatown controversy. They have wider personal and business relations with the outside social order and do not feel that their security is threatened. To them, Chinatown remains as a cultural symbol of the earlier Chinese immigrants' life.

Apparently, there are different reactions, different opinions regarding the renewal of Chinatown which also manifest different degrees of concern, different desires and different needs and interests.

(H) The Prairie Chinese vis-a-vis the Larger Society

The early Chinese came to the city to work as cheap labourers, laundrymen, cooks and restaurant workers. They lived together as a minority group and suffered from anti-Oriental riots and other forms of social discrimination. They were regarded as inferior and undesirable. MacInnes once remarked that "we do not want so much Oriental sauce in our stew so as to spoil it."¹⁵

They were also scapegoats in the political struggle between the Liberals and the Conservatives in the earlier days of competition for votes in Western Canada. They were deemed as threatening and at the same time immoral, dirty, and carriers of diseases.

They were also humiliated by being called "Chink", "yellow peril", "Mongolian horde" and "Chow". Their pigtails were tugged for curiosity; children might sneak behind them and yank their pigtails for fun. Because of their ethnic visibility and also because their language, mannerisms, customs and traditions were so strange to the whites, they were regarded as unacceptable, non-assimilated aliens. They were considered by nature to be treacherous, distrustful and dishonest.

Because of such persecution and the discriminatory immigration restrictions, the early Chinese withdrew from participating in the social institutions of the larger society and were content to live by themselves in Chinatown. Thus they treasured togetherness, unity and cooperation. This kind of grouping had been regarded as a sort of self-imposed isolation.

The American mass media also affected the Canadian attitude toward the Chinese. They were portrayed as opium-smokers, gamblers and hatchet

men. Like Charlie Chan and Fu Manchu, the Chinese were deemed to be mysterious, impenetrable, docile, and inscrutable. Influenced by the Americans, the white majority also created jokes about them. The following two examples are typical.

Chinky, Chinky Chinamen,
Sitting on the fence,
Try to make a dollar,
Out of 15 cents.

(In some versions, it is 98 cents)

One Chinese is a laundry,
Two Chinese is a restaurant,
Three Chinese is an immigration quota,
Four Chinese is a population explosion.

There is lack of social understanding between the Chinese and the whites. The Chinese ways of doing things are different and not acceptable to the members of the larger society. A few informants remark that the reason the early Chinese were not acceptable was because of their peculiar habits - they spit on the streets, did not keep themselves clean, were too noisy and rowdy in the public places, were too cliquish, and did not excuse themselves when they ran into somebody. Apparently, there is some degree of social friction while living together. The whites' society may demand a certain degree of conformity to the Canadian pattern of behaviour as the price of social acceptance. Occasionally, the Chinese in the city are called "mustard" for their yellow-skinned colour; or "bamboo sticks," to describe their social ostracism.

Some Prairie City Chinese think that there are still subtle forms of racial prejudice against the Chinese in terms of employment and social acceptance. As one Chinese says, "City life isn't easy if you have slanted eyes or speak English with an Italian or Polish accent" and "you are almost forced to live with your own group in your own section of town."

Your income is low and even if you wanted to move out of the city center, you couldn't afford it." (Edmonton Journal, January 9, 1968)

Some of my informants note that the Canadians still have some misunderstanding about them. This is evident in an article published in Maclean's in 1962 in which Alan Phillips depicted the Chinese Canadians today with the traditional biased view. In his article on "That Criminal Society That Dominates the Chinese in Canada," Phillips stated, "Behind the bamboo screen of Chinese ghettos, behind the bland closed face and the incomprehensible language, the clannish culture of another China persists," and there were "burglaries, holdups, and drug-running across the boundaries of Canadian Chinatowns" and the Chinese leaders "subvert our legal system. bribe our politicians ... and bring pressure to bear on civil servants," and they "are the most unassimilated ethnic group in the country." He stated further that there were 11,000 illegal Chinese immigrants and the laws "behind Canada's bamboo curtain are made by a criminal oligarchy with an immigration policy of its own," and that the racketeers profitted from these criminal activities about \$44,000,000.¹⁶

Of course, there are also educated and enlightened Canadians not like Alan Phillips. Some are full of wonder at the curious Oriental culture and the "exotic" image of the Far East. There are people who make the distinction that there are "poor Chinamen and smart Chinese". Some may even think that the Chinese are family-minded, law-abiding, unradical, frugal, diligent and hardworking.

The official Canadian policy in dealing with minority groups stresses the concept of cultural pluralism and "unity in diversity", with a view to preserve the cultures, tradition, languages and identities of the various ethnic groups. The city's Chinese regard such a

governmental attitude as supercilious and suggest that it applies only to the whites' minorities like the Italians, Polish, Ukrainians, and Hutterites. These people, according to my informants, get governmental support for their respective community's projects, but not the Chinese.

The elderly who live within the walls of Chinatown still feel degraded because of their earlier experiences of racial prejudices. But in general, they realize that the Canadian society is changing and there are less discrimination and prejudice now. A few still have misconceptions about the whites and call them "old barbarians" (老番) or "red-haired devils" (紅毛鬼). They do not welcome the white tourists to Chinatown, for the latter just want to satisfy their curiosities. The Chinese are people and not animals, and Chinatown is not a zoo.

The older generation still hopes to maintain a workable internal mechanism vis-a-vis the larger society. However, this seems to run counter to the oncoming social currents. For as the younger generation moves away from Chinatown and has wider contacts with the Canadians, the walls of Chinatown will be loosened and its doors will be opened to greater influences.

(I) A Concluding Note

In this chapter, I have discussed the ecological formation of the local Chinatown, the Chinese social organisation, the community problems, and the patterns of Chinese associative life.

It is envisaged that the local Chinatown will become a business district rather than a place for residence as the older generation disappears and the young move out. The renewal issue is one of the major problems facing the Chinese community today. If the old Chinatown is cleared away, most of the community leaders would advocate a new Chinatown in its place. For only in a Chinatown could they organise their social life together.

Most of the local Chinese families are of the nuclear family type. Though patriarchal authority persists to a large extent, the women appear to have more say in the family decision-making and in running the home. There is still a significant number of "married bachelors" in the community living mainly in the clan associations. They cannot enjoy full family life, because the members of their families were not allowed to come to Canada until 1947 under the stringent immigration law. Today, some of them are either too poor to send for their families, or their spouses have passed away. As more Chinese immigrants are permitted to enter and as some of the members of their families are permitted to come, it is hoped that the present unbalanced sex ratio in the community can be improved.

Though acculturated to the Western life to a certain extent, the old still cling to their traditional country ways of life. The young are more adaptable to the Canadian social structure. The local Chinese

community is a small minority, and is subjected to the political, economic, and social forces exerted by the majority.

Because of the prolonged separation among the members of some of the Chinese families, there are in existence today numerous problems of communication and generation gaps in their homes. Some emotional adjustment and attitudinal change seem to be necessary to narrow such gaps.

The elderly are still practising some of the traditional festivals and customs though not in elaborate forms. The traditional form of marriage procedures, funeral arrangements, and religious beliefs are, in general, on the wane. The young participate in some of the Chinese festivities but most do not really understand the historical and social significance underlying such celebrations.

The major economic activities of the local Chinese center essentially in restaurateuring and groceries. The immense concentration in these businesses is partly due to the traditional occupational discrimination against the Chinese but largely due now to a lack of capital, shortage of labour, and poor managerial skills.

Most of the members in the Chinese clan associations and political organisations are elderly people. The young are not interested in participating in the associational activities. They look forward to the larger society for better employment opportunities and a brighter future; the Chinatown is unable to provide them with a better life and advancement. In time, the Chinese associations may mainly cater to cultural and social needs.

The old are still hoping to maintain a Chinatown as an internal organisation vis-a-vis the larger society. They have experienced racial

discrimination and have felt the "coldness of life" imposed on them by the white majority. However, as the young continue to move out, the doors of Chinatown will be left open for greater influences.

Chapter V -- Footnotes

1

Davison, Anne M., An Analysis of the significant factors in the Patterns of Toronto Chinese Family Life as a result of the recent changes in immigration laws which permitted the wives of Canadian Citizens to enter Canada, M. S. W. Thesis, University of Toronto, August, 1952, pp.30.

2

Bronsdon, Madeline, Cohesion and Competition Family Structure in Eleven Chinese Households, M. A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, June, 1965, pp.31 & pp.105-106.

3

Cheng, Tien-fang, Oriental Immigration in Canada, Shaighai: The Commercial Press, 1931, pp.186.

4

Willmott, W.E., Chinese Communities in British Columbia Towns, unpublished manuscripts, University of British Columbia, (undated) pp.21.

5

Lyman, Stanford M., Willmott, W.E., & Ho, Berching, "Rules of a Chinese Secret Society in British Columbia", Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Vol. XXVII, part 3, 1964, pp.532.

6

Willmott, W.E., Chinese communities in British Columbia Towns, op. cit., pp.10.

7

Lyman, Stanford M., Chinese Social Organization, Radio Talk, British Columbia, January 31, 1962.

8

Osterhout, S. S., Oriental in Canada: The Story of the Work of the United Church of Canada with Asiatic in Canada, Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1929, pp.99-102.

9

Edmonton Journal, Alberta, Canada, January 26, 1968.

10

Park, Robert, Race and Culture, London: The Free Press of Glencoe, pp.209 & pp.249.

11

Lyman, S.M., Willmott, W.E. & Ho, Berching, op. cit., pp.531-532.

12

ibid, pp.533

13

Blythe, W. L., "The Interplay of Chinese Secret and Political Societies in Malaya (1)", Eastern World, March, 1950, pp.12.

14

Panuch, J. Anthony, "Relocation in New York City", a spcial Report to Mayor Robert F. Wagner, December 15, 1959, pp.18.

15

MacInnes, Tom., Oriental Occupation in British Columbia, Vancouver: Sun Publishing Co., 1927, pp.68 & pp.80.

16

Phillips, Alan, "That Criminal Society that Dominates the Chinese in Canada", MacLean's Magazine, Vol. 75(7), April 7, 1962, Toronto, Ontario, pp.40-45.

Chapter VI

THE CHANGES OF THE CHINESE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OVERSEAS ----

with comparative reference to the Prairie Chinese community and other overseas Chinese settlements.

(A) The Pattern of Migration

As compared with the North, migration has been an historical feature in South China. This is because the South has many centuries of seafaring history and earlier contacts with Western colonial powers. Macao, Hong Kong, Amoy, Canton, and Swatow were either ceded, used, or opened as treaty ports for the Western colonial penetration.

Despite their ancestral loyalties, local familism, and social value in discouraging migration, the Southern Chinese were forced to move by high population pressure, chronic unemployment problems, natural calamities, and political and social unrest. Most of the immigrants were peasants, small traders, artisans, craftsmen, political refugees and labourers; they left to search for better economic opportunities and a better future.

The overseas Chinese seem to be highly concentrated in areas of Southeast Asia and in North America. In the case of Southeast Asia, the concentration was due to the geographical proximity and also due to the historical trade and maritime relations which the Chinese had with the countries in that part of the world. The large-scale immigration in the 19th century was also coincided with the need for cheap labour required by the Western powers for exploitation of the natural resources: For example, the official administrative policy in the early days of the Dutch rule in Indonesia was to encourage Chinese immigration for economic expansion.

In the case of North America, immigration was stimulated by the discovery of gold in California and in Fraser Valley, and also by the need for cheap labour in the mines and in railroad construction. The industrious and persevering qualities of the Chinese peasants and the shortage of labour prompted the Western employers to contract Chinese labourers.

The early immigrants, being sojourners, were homeward-looking, for they wished to return home after accumulating some significant amount of wealth. If they achieved some degree of success, they would send for their relatives to come to join them; and this might result in initiating an emigration movement by which the people from one place would move to certain specific areas. It might further result in some concentrations of a particular group in a particular area. In Canada and the United States, the Chinese mainly came from certain districts in Kwangtung province, notably from Sze-Yap (the four counties: Toi Shan, Hoi Ping, Yan Ping and Sun Sui), and Sun Yap (the three counties: Shun Tak, Nam Hoi and Pun Yu), and Chung Sam. In Southeast Asia, however, the Chinese immigrants came from a variety of dialect background. In the Philippines, there are more Hokkien and Cantonese; in Bangkok, there are more Teochiew and Hakka; in Sumatra and West Borneo, more Hakka; in Java and Semarang, more Hokkien and Cantonese; in Burma, more Yunanese; in Cambodia, some concentrations of Hainanese; in Sarawak, some concentrations of Henghua and Hokchia; in Singapore and Penang, more Hokkien; and in Kuala Lumpur and Ipoh, more Cantonese and Hakka.

Chinese labour was exploited in the West for social and economic development. Almost from the beginning, the Chinese not only met economic discrimination, but also political agitation and social discrimination. Immigration laws, regulations, restrictive acts, poll tax and head tax

were used to deal with the Chinese. In Australia and New Zealand, dictation and language tests were used to exclude the Chinese. In New Zealand, unnecessary restrictive legislation was created after 1871, to meet the "purely hypothetical danger" of the coming of the "mongolian horde".¹ Fong notes that for 20 years after 1896, "the average annual number of Chinese arrivals was less than 200, balanced by approximately the same number of departures," yet many immigration restrictive acts and amendments were passed against the Chinese: for example, the acts of 1899, 1901, 1907, 1908, 1910, 1919 and 1920 which prohibited the Chinese from permanent residence.² Due to the fear of the "yellow peril" and economic competition, the trade unionists in North America and in Australia organized mass anti-Oriental movements and aroused racial antagonism. The Chinese Exclusion Act was passed in the United States in 1882; in Australia, in 1901; and in Canada, in 1923. All these discriminatory acts closed the door for the entry of the families and the wives of the Chinese immigrants. Moreover, the Chinese were not allowed to own land, to vote, or to be naturalized in Canada and Australia.

The anti-Chinese feeling in British Columbia and in California at the turn of the century was typically expressed by a counsel for British Columbia, appearing before the Dominion Investigating Committee in 1901. The Chinese, he charged,

"form on their arrival a community within a community separate and apart, a foreign substance within but not of our body politics, with no love for our laws and institutions; a people that will not assimilate or become an integral part of our race and nation. They are so nearly allied to a servile class that they are obnoxious to a free community and dangerous to the state" ³

In Southeast Asia before the coming of the Europeans, the Chinese had been welcomed as the source of labour for economic development. In the

post-colonial period, due to the rising tide of native nationalism in search for national independence, allegiance and solidarity, discriminatory laws and persecution have been imposed on the Chinese mainly in the economic and less so in the cultural fields. There is an absence of social discrimination and racial prejudice like those of the West.

In the attempt to nationalize the economy, the Philippines had passed a number of laws and acts, especially aiming at the Chinese in the retail trade. In Vietnamization of their economy and their Chinese residents, South Vietnam has forbidden the Chinese participation in eleven economic pursuits, notably in rice-processing and petroleum products; and the Chinese were asked to change their names and to abolish their Chinese sign-boards. Thailand has imposed high taxes on the Chinese businessmen and enacted legislation to deal with the Chinese economic power principally in the rice-mills and export trade; it prohibits the establishment of Chinese-language schools and the further immigration of the Chinese. Cambodia, in 1955, forbade non-nationals to enter sixteen occupations, mainly in commerce and trade. Anti-Chinese sentiments in the immediate post-Dutch period resulted in mass massacre and mob riots against the Chinese in Indonesia; many Chinese became homeless and their properties were confiscated.

In Southeast Asia, the Chinese are large in numbers and have a long historical connection; they live in the urban areas as well as in the country-side. In North America, the Chinese immigration is relatively a recent phenomenon, and the numbers are comparatively smaller. They mainly concentrate in the cities where there are economic opportunities for their restaurants, grocery stores and traditional laundry businesses. They live mostly in the large seaboard metropolitan cities like New York,

Boston, San Francisco, Victoria, and Vancouver.

The Prairie Chinese shared a common characteristic with most of the Chinese immigrants in that they were predominantly male. This resulted in slow growth of the native-born population, especially among the Prairie Chinese. Because of the unbalanced sex ratio, the Chinese in Southeast Asia intermarried with the native women. But in North America, there were not many cases of intermarriage. This might have been due to the unfavourable social attitude toward the Chinese as evidenced by the anti-Oriental movement in the early part of the century.

The Prairie Chinese also shared a common feature with their counterparts in the western societies - they were submitted to persecution and racial discrimination. They seemed to have a similar occupational structure as those in the United States.

With the coming of the new immigrants in the post-war years, the sex ratio in the Prairie city is gradually balancing and the population appears to have increased over the past ten years.

(B) The Changes of Family and Kinship Structure

The traditional Chinese family is characterized by the principle of patrilineal descent, patrilocal residential pattern, exogamy, primogeniture, patriarchal authority and is patrilineal in the transmission of property and surname. It is not only a domestic unit in which the members of the family maintain a common household, common budget and property; it is also related to the wider framework of the kinship relations and the social system. Because of the principle of unilineal descent, the basic family can trace its connections with the wider kinship structure through the affinal and consanguinial relationships. In other words, the Chinese extended family can further extend and proliferate into a lineage or sub-clan organisation; and thus, over a long historical process, can interrelate the various basic components of the kinship system. As a basic unit in the lineage organisation, the family is subjected to the clan's rules of behaviour and the informal control of the clan leaders. Moreover, it shares the benefits of welfare and mutual protection provided by the clan, participates in ancestor worship in the ancestral halls, and the members of the family clan can be buried in the clan graveyards.

Within the family, age, sex, and generation seem to be essential characteristics in determining the hierarchical structure of interrelationships. Each member of the family has his own position, role, dignity, and functions. The interaction among the members of the family is based on an unequivocal relationship of superordination and subordination. There is also a clear distinction in the behavioural pattern between the father and the son, the husband and the wife, brother and brother,

and between the members of one family and those of another family. The family stresses the values of filial piety, obedience, respect, and good manners in dealing with each other.

The emphasis on harmonious family relationships is rooted in the ideal Confucian system of hierarchical social order. For only a harmonious and orderly family can extend its good will to the members of other families and to the state officials and rulers. As Confucius once said, "when the Great principle [the ideal social order] prevails, the world is like one home common to all men."⁴

Traditionally, there are differences in family size between the gentry families and those of the peasantry. Large families are characteristic of the gentry. They have the land and the financial resources to support a big family, which normally consists of, ideally, five generations: that is, great grandparents, grandparents, parents, ego's own family, married brothers and married sons. On the other hand, the families of the peasants and the poor are mainly of the nuclear type, consisting of parents and children. Sometimes, one of the married sons may stay with the parents while the rest of the sons relocate when married.

Seniority in generation is highly stressed in the traditional Chinese society because the advice and the experiences of the elders are functionally relevant to the agrarian way of life. The value of a male child is also highly prized; not only does he continue the family line, but he also is the potential labour force on the farms.

However, when Chinese migrated overseas, the classical conception of family and kinship had to be modified in accordance with the various socio-economic conditions in which they lived. The traditional lineage and kinship system could not simply be transplanted overseas. Chinese

immigrants have had to restructure their patterns of relations to meet the demands of the new life. The fragmentation of their kinship system overseas may be due to the nature of their migration, which is predominantly male and transitional; and also due to the diverse economic opportunities, social mobility and occupational differentiation in the new settings.

In Southeast Asia, it has been noted that, even in the rural areas, the Chinese do not reproduce the traditional "large scale patrilineal corporate groups centered around landholding and ancestor worship."⁵ Neither are they able to reconstruct the kinship pattern of the traditional gentry. Though Coughlin reports that in Thailand and possibly in Penang, stem families are common and the wealthy Chinese have managed large joint families.⁶ My observations in Malaysia and Bangkok indicate that the distribution of large joint families is sporadic and not common. If there is a close relation between family size and wealth, then most of the rich Chinese families would develop a large joint family organisation, but this is not the case. Moreover, the congested urban conditions and the occupational mobility make the living arrangements for a large family difficult.

The responsiveness of the Chinese domestic institution to the changing socio-economic contexts is evident in the shifting away from the patrilineal emphasis. In his study of the Chinese in Semarang, Indonesia, D. Willmott observes that there is a "change from the traditional patrilineal, patrilocal family system to a bilateral or neolocal pattern," a system in which "the wife's kin are as important as the husband's."⁷ Tan Giok-lan also reports that in the Chinese community in Sukabumi, Indonesia, there is a prevalence of neolocal residence "which is a corroboration of the trend towards bilateral forms of kinship."⁸

Hunter further notes that Javanese wives who marry Chinese are "accustomed to a bi-lateral family and seek to maintain ties with their own family as well as their husband's family."⁹

Though the patrilineal emphasis does persist in the overseas Chinese society in some parts of Southeast Asia (especially in Singapore, Vietnam and Thailand), the composition of the Chinese family is of the nuclear type, consisting of parents and unmarried children. Both Kay's and Freedman's studies of the Chinese in Singapore seem to indicate that the nuclear family organization is the rule rather than the exception.¹⁰ Though the Chinese households in Singapore consist of "people living under one roof and cooperating economically to the extent of sharing the provision of food,"¹¹ it should be pointed out that the household is no longer the focus of economic production as was the case in traditional Chinese society. Fortier also reports that in Borneo, the Chinese family is mainly of the nuclear type comprised of three or four members.¹²

Under the impact of modernization, Chinese marriage seems to have undergone many changes. Marriage is a matter of personal choice. It is no longer arranged by the parents with the assistance of the match-makers. The marriage "no longer creates a kind of social bond between two lineages or two corporate groups." Freedman regards this as the "changed structure of overseas kinship grouping."¹³ However, the principle of exogamous marriages is still prevalent.

Due to the absence of female immigrants in the earlier period of Chinese migration, there was an increased rate of intermarriage between the Chinese immigrants and the native women. In the Philippines, for example, the Chinese have for centuries "intermarried freely with

the Filipinos and their offspring were absorbed into the native population."¹⁴ Such intermarriages facilitate some degree of acculturation. However, due to the large number of female immigrants to Southeast Asia at the turn of the century, the rate of intermarriage seems to be decreasing. As the Chinese communities become more established, coupled with the equalized sex ratio, the Chinese in Southeast Asia have enjoyed stabilized family life.

However, in North America, due to the stringent immigration law and the comparatively recent period of migration, the early Chinese communities are characterized by the absence of family life. There are many married men who have long been separated from their families in home villages or in Hong Kong. The imbalanced sex ratio is so extreme that fights broke out in Chinatown "over rival claims to a girl."¹⁵ With the repeal of the immigration law during and after the second World War, the sex ratio was slightly improved because members of the families were allowed to come over. It is commonly observed that, due to these historical conditions, together with the pressure of modern urban living, the composition of the Chinese family in North America is mainly of the nuclear type. In her study of the established Chinese families of the San Francisco Bay areas, Rose Hum Lee notes that "as more and more heads of families are native-born, their family patterns will tend to approximate [the] prevailing society's pattern."¹⁶

Due to racial prejudice, intermarriage with whites in the early period was not common, even though there was sex ratio disparity. In the United States, it is said that "one might count on the fingers of both hands the number of American-Chinese marriages between San Diego and Seattle."¹⁷ In Toronto, Davison reports three cases of intermarriage

between white Canadian women and Chinese men who had their principal wives in China. With the coming of their Chinese wives after the repeal of the immigration law, one Chinese man was said to have left his French-Canadian wife; an Irish wife was said to have been dissatisfied with the situation; and another French-Canadian wife withdrew from the home and left the children to be under the care of the recently arrived Chinese wife.¹⁸

Because of western influences and the shortage of potential wives, the status of the Chinese women in the home seems to be raised. The modern educated women tend to reject many of the traditional roles and are now "emancipated from the subordinate and inferior [position]".¹⁹ They want to be treated equally and to have more say in the family's decision-making. This fact certainly has consequences in the Chinese family size. In Vancouver, the Chinese daughters are said to have generally "a status equal to that of their brothers, particularly with respect to education opportunities."²⁰

Family patterns among the Chinese in Prairie City share the same kind of historical hindrance of immigration law and other social factors as with the other Chinese families in North America. This fact is evident in the large numbers of old "married bachelors" in the rooming houses and the significant numbers of long separated families. However, among the native-born and the first generation, the nuclear family organization seems to be prevalent, and it conforms to the Canadian pattern. Most of the modern marriages are not of the arranged type and the newly-weds appear to prefer neo-local residence. However, exogamous marriage and an avoidance of marrying persons of the same surname still persist to a large degree. As among Canadians, marriage concerns two immediate families rather than involving the relations of the wider kin groups.

As with the Canadian families, patrilineal emphasis still persists, for the father is still regarded as the head of the household. As distinct from elderly people, the younger generation has the western conception of family, meaning that they do not have the strong preference for the sons after marriage.

(C) Elite Structure and Social Stratification

Theoretically, the hierarchical class system in traditional China was not based on wealth and property as the essential criteria for ranking. Scholastic achievement was highly valued and could lead to great honours. The governing elite were the scholar-officials. The roles of merchants, artisans, and peasants were less significant to the functioning of the traditional social system. Weber regarded the scholar-officials as the cultivated gentlemen and not as the professionals; as a status group and not as an economic class having wealth as the common criterion.²¹ However, it should be pointed out that the gentry class was economically dependent on landed property,²² without which it was impossible to adopt the gentry way of life. Despite this classical stratification, social mobility was still possible through achievement in the examination system and through accumulation of landed property. There were also other ladders to officialdom, such as military careers and personal influence with members of the imperial household.

The ideal hierarchy seemed to undermine the criterion of wealth "as a factor in social mobility." However, Wang notes that since the Sung dynasty (960-1275 A.D.), the real status of the merchants "had moved up to second place, while most peasants were thought to be the lowest stratum in society."²³

When the Chinese migrated overseas, the class structure was modified in accordance with the different colonial systems in which they found themselves. The class structure also incorporated large elements of the indigeneous social system. In British Malaya and Singapore, Wang further notes that there were no Chinese equivalents of scholar-officials and peasants. The Chinese only had two class divisions: the merchants and non-merchants. However, in the second half of the 19th century, the Chinese incorporated the local ruling elite and the native peasants into their traditional frame of stratification, which was:²⁴

- a. Shih (scholar-officials): British-Malay officialdom
- b. Shang (merchants) : Chinese and British merchants
- c. Kung (artisans) : Labourers, clerks, and squatters
- d. Nung (peasants) : the Malay peasants

Thus, in the overseas setting, as long as the upper elite was closed to them, the Chinese would strive to be successful businessmen or merchants, for the accumulation of wealth brought high social status, prestige, and associational positions in the eyes of the Chinese. In some cases, the successful merchants would aspire to the living style of the ruling class: for example, in Bangkok, the Chinese merchants would wear the Phanung of the Thai upper class; in Indonesia, Oei Tiong Ham fought the Dutch officialdom for permission to wear western attire;²⁵ and in Malaya, the successful Babas businessmen would behave and speak

English like a colonial elite. In some cases, the Chinese businessmen might purchase imperial degrees and mandarin robes.

In colonial Southeast Asia, the western colonists and the native aristocrats co-opted the Chinese leaders into their respective frame of administration; this fact had consequences on the Chinese internal power structure. The British developed a system of indirect rule whereby the Chinese headmen were conferred with honorary titles such as Kapitan China in Malaya; or, in the case of early Singapore, they were appointed to be government councilors or justices of the peace. These leaders served as intermediaries between the British political superstructure and the Chinese masses. They were responsible for the collection of taxes and the enforcement of law and order for the colonists, while, on the other hand, the Chinese populace depended on them for "the explanation of the actions, motives, and directions"²⁶ of the British administrators. In Selangor, Yap Ah Loy was appointed as Kapitan China between 1864 and 1884, and he was said to assist the British in maintaining law and order.²⁷ In Trengganu, the Chinese Kapitans were given the power by the British to deal with minor offences and disputes among the Chinese on the understanding that they were to help expand the British economy by supplying Chinese labour. The same kind of situation could be found in Sarawak, where the Brooke rulers appointed influential Chinese headmen to further their colonial interests.

The Malay rulers also recognised the influences of the Chinese leaders and dealt with the Chinese as a group rather than as individuals.²⁸ The expansion of gambier and pepper plantations in the mid-19th century prompted the Sultan of Johore to attract Chinese to settle along the rivers and tributaries. The Chinese leaders were recognised as representatives

of the authority of the Sultan and were given legal rights to govern the sections of the valley under their control; they were thus known as the "lords of the rivers" (Kangchu).²⁹ However, the system was abolished in 1917.

The "Kapitan China" system was also adopted by the Dutch in dealing with the Chinese community. They appointed the first and the second "Lieutenant China" in 1678 and in 1685 and gave them semi-official powers to deal with the internal social order of the Chinese. Beng Kong, a wealthy merchant, was given a seat in the magistrate's bench and was later elected as the official executor. In Semarang, there was a council, consisting of seven Kapitan officers who were to handle civil administration and external affairs. In Java, the Chinese Chiefs were given legal powers to deal with all matters of civil jurisdiction; in return, they were given lucrative concessions in opium and other enterprises.³⁰ In Dutch Borneo, the Kongsis (Chinese settlement) headmen and the village heads were appointed by the Dutch authorities and were responsible for local peace and order.³¹

The Chinese leaders in Thailand were given Thai noble titles and were regarded as Siamese functionaries and enjoyed a degree of extra-territoriality; the chief Kapitan officer was accorded the high noble rank of Phraya which "entitled him to all the dignities of an exalted stratum of Thai bureaucrats."³² Traditionally, the headmen were permitted to have monopolies over taxes, opium, and gambling farms.

In French Indochina, the Chinese were organised under a congregation or bangs system according to their respective dialect and territorial origins. The bangs leaders were given police power and fiscal responsibilities and were responsible for the internal control of the

Chinese community. The Chinese had no direct contacts with the local authorities except through their elected leaders. These congregations appeared to have local autonomy and were concerned with the welfare, employment, shelter, and other interests of their members. The French theoretically did not interfere in their affairs so long as they could maintain peace and order among themselves. In Laos, the chairman of each dialect group (Teochiew, Hakka, Cantonese, and Hainanese) or congregation was regarded as having a position equivalent to a district administrator (tasseng). He was elected every four years and the election was supervised by the Laos government.³³

In the Philippines, the Kapitan officers were given patents of authority and were charged with direct responsibilities to the state toward the end of the Spanish period; the Portuguese were said to have the same kind of system to deal with the Asian traders found in its colonies.³⁴

Other than the superimposed external political structure, the Chinese ~~toohave~~ developed their internal power framework. This can be seen mainly through the interlocking officership in the Chinese associations. In his study of the Chinese in Thailand, Skinner notes that the inter-associational leaders are "the main channels of community and influence uniting the various organisations. It is largely because of them that groups of Chinese associations can co-ordinate policy and exercise united control."³⁵ The interlocking leadership is necessary since there is no single apex leader in the community, especially in a situation where there are various dialect groups living together. In Singapore, for example, the Chinese community is fragmented into various sub-systems based on surname, dialect, district origins, and occupational groups. It is difficult to recognize a single powerful leader. In Cambodia,

W.E. Willmott also found the same kind of situation, where there is an interlocking network among the various associational leaders. The "apex of the association structure in Phnom Penh is the managing board of the Chinese Hospital," and the elected board members are "the most powerful in each speech group," and they "participate in the leadership of at least twenty other associations."³⁶

Most of the leaders in Southeast Asian Chinese communities are the richest merchants and businessmen, for in the overseas settings, wealth is the symbol of prestige and high social status. The rich will further enhance their prestige by seeking positions in the Chinese association and by contributing generously to the community's projects and welfare.

In Southeast Asia, before the Second World War, where an "empty-handed" farmer could move up to the stratum of millionaire, the accumulation of wealth was a prime criterion of success. Much the same kind of measure is being used in North America to measure success - wealth and the possession of properties are to some extent the index of achievement. Hsu notes that in the United States, wealth commands prestige and bureaucratic power, while scholarship is only a sideline.³⁷ The traditional frame of class hierarchy is certainly irrelevant to the western capitalistic and industrial society. The Chinese in North America share the same frame of reference as the dominant class structure. The Chinese-American middle class is said to hold to their newly achieved material success, and they attribute their success "to diligence, hard work, and avoidance of delinquent behaviour."³⁸ The native-born are using the available educational opportunities to attain professional status. In Hawaii, success in business and interest in education are the factors contributing to the

upward social mobility of the Chinese.³⁹

The power structure in San Francisco's Chinatown is said to be under the control of the clan-kongsi elite. These traditional elites control the Chinese Six Companies, which is the representative body of the Chinese in California. Moreover, most of these elite members are successful merchants who have the biggest voice in community affairs,⁴⁰ and who have social power to speak and act on behalf of the Chinese, vis-a-vis the larger society. These traditional elite are assuming, in the absence of the traditional clan leaders, "a role in loco parentis in settling disputes, arbitrating disagreements;" and "have managed to establish a kind of extraterritoriality and to achieve an added legitimation to their traditional control over their fellow immigrants by winning unofficial but practically useful recognition from white civic elites."⁴¹ The Six Companies, as a principal spokesman for the Chinese, consists of a confederation of Chinese associations in San Francisco. Its Board of Directors includes representatives from the various associations. The number of representatives from each association or company is dependent on the size of their total membership. The customary control by these elites has been regarded by the native-born as Chinatown's oligarchy. The native-born therefore reject the elites' claim to represent the entire Chinese community.

In Vancouver, the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association has been "the voice of all of Canada's Chinese population and the head of the Chinese Benevolent Association is often referred to as unofficial mayor of Chinatown." It is concerned with the interest of the Chinese immigrants, and it provides mutual aid, protection and recreational activities. Before 1906, it functioned in "the place of the Chinese embassy."⁴² As

with the case of Six Companies, the Benevolent Association also consists of the representatives of all the Chinese associations in Vancouver. Most of the ruling elite come from the merchant and business classes. Traditionally, the elderly Chinese seldom brought their disputes to the Canadian courts and preferred to settle their problems with their traditional clan or associational elites; this fact also explains the ready acceptance of these elites by the Chinese immigrants.

In the Prairies, it has been noted that most of the Chinese are engaged in the restaurant and grocery businesses. Some of my informants would regard themselves as belonging to the lower middle class, within the framework of the Canadian social structure. The elderly people still regard personal qualities and scholastic ability as some of the criteria for a leader, yet the younger generation has tended to regard professional standing and wealth as the qualifications for leadership.

The local Chinese Benevolent Association claims to speak on behalf of the Chinese community and its claim is recognized by the larger society. Such recognition enhances the Association's position in the Chinese community. The recognition of a traditional elite by the larger society may elevate his position and status in the eyes of the Chinese. The attainment of any success in the wider society is carried over to the Chinatown districts.

In Southeast Asia where there are large numbers of Chinese, there is a constant interplay between the Chinese internal power structure and the external political system; different forms of adaptive mechanism for the dynamic changes have developed. In North America, especially in the Prairies, the Chinese community is a minority and can function within the periphery of the larger society and be subservient to the dominant

political and social forces.

Because of the restrictive immigration policy and the unbalanced sex ratio during the early period of migration, there are very few middle-aged men assuming leadership in the associations. The younger immigrants, coming after 1949, might have a different outlook in life and might not be subjected to the appeal of clan loyalties and obligations. They came from a China different from the one in which their forefathers came. In Vancouver, W.E. Willmott observes that there are still small numbers of Canadian-born men in their forties, educated in China, emerging as associational leaders. In some situations, he finds "an informal partnership between such a China-educated younger man and a wealthy elder statesman of the community, who together can dominate the other older men who make up the leadership of the clan association."⁴³ Certainly, such China-educated younger men, who have been imbued with the idea of clan loyalties in old China might still be interested in running the associations, but their numbers are on the decline. It is doubtful whether they can exert significant influences on the Chinese community as a whole. The English-educated Canadian-born "can look elsewhere for political office than to the clan associations and he can find economic aid from sources alternative to the elders of his clan," and therefore, he does not "show interest in the clan associations of their fathers."⁴⁴

(D) The Pattern of Chinese Associations Overseas

Traditionally, the Chinese clan and lineage organisations were composed of numerous extended families or various branches of sub-lineages who traced their patrilineal descent from a common ancestor or from a given locality; the generations in the Chinese lineages could go on accumulating and might develop into a wider agnatic group. The widest clan was the whole patrilineal-related surname group. Sometimes, a single descent group might spread over more than one village; and sometimes, one or more lineages might settle together in a single village. In Central and Southeastern China, Hu Hsien-Chin notes, many villages were predominantly or completely inhabited by people of a single surname.⁴⁵ Freedman also documents that in Fukien and Kwangtung, many of the villages "are communities composed of the male agnatic descendents of a single ancestor together with their unmarried sisters and their wives;" in fact, China "was held corporately by lineages and segments of lineages."⁴⁶

The social life of the traditional Chinese was centered essentially in the village community. They engaged mainly in agricultural pursuits and depended on land for their livelihood. The embattled appearance of the clan or lineage settlement was not without explanation. It was constructed in such a way as to defend the village in the event of a feud with the surrounding clans or other lineages. When the central political control was weak, the scholarly administrative system was not able to govern local affairs effectively. In fact, the local community was encouraged to deal with its own problems and thus enjoyed some degree of local autonomy. An enlightened magistrate was said not to hear cases

involving family disputes and not to meddle in the quarrels among the members of a localized lineage. The clan heads and the members of the lineages were expected to take care of their own problems. Moreover, if the disputes among the members were known to the outside world, it might degrade the good name of the clan as a whole.

The clan strove for prosperity and continuity and stressed the value of internal cohesion and collective solidarity. It mediated and suppressed internal tensions and cleavages; and maintained its consanguinity through exogamous marriages and patrilocal residence. The consolidation of the clan was derived from the kinship affiliation, same surname, a genealogy, common landed property, and mutual protection and interests in the entire group. The clan had its own rules of conduct and might own charitable granaries for the group's welfare. Some clan organisations owned irrigated rice fields which might be circulated among the component family groups for cultivation; the land might be rented out to others and the rents collected might be divided among the constituent families for the community's projects, or used to defray expenses involved in ancestral rites.

When the Chinese migrated to a new social setting, even within China itself, they tended to form associations on the basis of common geographical origins,⁴⁷ common descent, same locality and shared occupation. In Peking and in other cities and towns, the associations "based on common geographical origins have played a vital economic and social role during the past five centuries" and facilitated interregional economic and social integration.⁴⁸ Crissman notes that there are similarities between the urban social structure and the Chinese associations formed in China and the ones overseas.⁴⁹

Most of the overseas Chinese associations are formed essentially on the basis of a common surname, dialect, locality, shared occupations, common religious beliefs, clanship, and kinship. The formation of the Chinese association based on either one or several of the criteria above, may serve as some basis for cooperation, mutual protection and helps organise their social life together. In some cases, the associations may express the solidarity of the homeland ties, and they "could link lineages together in wider patrilineal groupings and from widely separated communities in China;" the members of the association were thus "geneologically mixed."⁵⁰ It has been observed that the overseas surname associations have exaggerated the agnatic principle for formation of organisation. It appears the more remote the common ancestor that one can claim, the greater the degree of clanship interrelatedness. Freedman notes that the network of kinship was flung far wider in the overseas setting and the mere "sharing is by itself a fact of agnatic kinship."⁵¹ The Chinese are more flexible and free to organise themselves on a number of principles not open to them in their home villages.

Due to the heterogenous nature of the overseas Chinese community and the presence of numerous dialect groups living together, the association may sometimes consist of members from different dialect groups and localities. This is because, the administrative boundaries in China did not coincide with the linguistic divisions. For example, in Kwangtung, there exist at least four dialects spoken by different people living side by side. Tien notes that under the regional grouping, Cantonese should include Teochiews, Hakkas and people of the Luechow peninsula and Hainan⁶ Island but in fact only those from the central part of Kwangtung province who speak Cantonese proper are counted as such.⁵² Moreover,

the Hakka who live in Kwangtung, came from the North; and the Hainanese dialect is closer to that of people living in the far-off Fukien province than that of the Canton region.

Thus, an association was formed on the basis of locality, the members of which may be related by common surname, common dialect and shared occupation and clanship. However, Ho Ping-ti contends that the principle of dialect used by some of the overseas associations is coincidental with the association formed on the basis of common geographical interests. The Western scholars may be wrong in using dialect criterion to analyse Chinese associations, for in China there are associations formed on the basis of common geographical interests and not on differences in dialects. For example, the Lin-Po and Shou-Sing association differ in geographical origins and not in dialect.⁵³

On the other hand, Tien points out that the stressing of a particular criterion may depend on the size of the Chinese population living in a specific area. He notes that in the countryside of Sarawak, where social and economic relations are based on clanship, there is a tendency for the people of the same surname deriving from the same locality in China to cluster together; on the other hand, in the town, where there is a multiplicity of dialect groups, there is an emergence of associations that may cut across surname, locality and dialect boundaries. The different dialect groups can be seen to cluster at different levels in the organisational hierarchy.⁵⁴ In addition, there are provincial and multi-provincial associations which cut across geographical origins, dialect, surname and clanship; and appear to be the confederation of many Chinese associations.⁵⁶

The Chinese associations are in fact the "infra-structure" of the overseas Chinese community and can exert socio-political forces vis-a-vis the external social order. In Thailand, only the formal organisations "can operate with any effectiveness" with the Thai government and can exert protective and diplomatic control for their common interests.⁵⁷ In the early days in Singapore, the Chinese grouped themselves and attempted "to deal with non-Chinese authority" and interferred "on quarrels and lawsuits and opposed government measures."⁵⁸

There is a proliferation of Chinese associations in Bangkok. The Speech group association is concerned with the interests of a particular dialect group; district associations, with welfare and ancestor worship; benevolent associations, with relief, medical and funeral facilities; religious societies, with funeral-expense insurance and funeral services; friendship societies, with recreational services; business associations, with competition and governmental trade policy; and the political organisations, with various political interests.⁵⁹

In French Indochina, the Chinese were grouped under the congregation system; and the system provided "most of the extra-familial functions of the community." The Chinese in Cambodia, for example, did not form associations based on clanship, because the French power blocked "any attempt at alternative organisation."⁶⁰ However, with the abolition of the congregation system, the Chinese started forming associations to cater to their needs. There were in 1963, eight clan associations in Cambodia; and the associations provided "both the political skeleton and much of the cultural identity." They maintained school and sport clubs and managed a Chinese hospital.⁶¹

In Sarawak, there are fourteen large clan groupings; some clans subdivide into smaller groupings on the basis of the place of origin. Moreover, Tien observes that one of the larger clans, the Shen clan organisation, "recognises a common solidarity in Kuching, Malacca, Bangkok and several other towns in the Nanyang and draws its members from six provinces in China: Kansu, Chekiang, Anwei, Kwangtung, Fukien and Kwangsi."⁶² In the Philippines, many of the associations are organised on the basis of surname and locality, providing protective and welfare functions; the clan and regional associations are commonly known as Tsung-Chin-Hui.⁶³ In Semarang, Indonesia, D. Willmott observes that the multi-functions provided by the Chinese associations may be "viewed as another manifestation of a continuing preference for face-to-face trust relations."⁶⁴ In Burma, the Chinese also organise themselves into district and provincial associations as well as various guilds and youth clubs for social, protective, recreational, and welfare purposes.

In western societies, such as the United Kingdom, the Chinese have also formed various types of organisations. However, the associations and social clubs organised by the Sze-Yap and Hakka people function only as "social centers and in some respects as friendly societies."⁶⁵ In London, the Chinese associations and clubs are primarily concerned with mutual aid and cultural and recreational activities, and the oldest associations were said to have combatted racial discrimination.⁶⁶ In the early days in Australia, the Sze-Yap and the Kong Chew associations formed by the Chinese immigrants were the centers of the community life; these "old-type organisations tend to decline as the old hostilities (or racial prejudice against them) decline;" the district associations which "served to unite, protect, and succour people together with the

bond of common district origin are now social centers frequented mostly by old."⁶⁷ In New Zealand, despite the existence of a community-wide association, there is "no well-defined institutions which all Chinese in the community rigorously maintain and support."⁶⁸

The raison d'être for the organization of the Chinese Six Companies in San Francisco by the early Chinese immigrants was said to be mutual protection, assistance, relief, and caring for the community's interests; for example, maintenance of a cemetery, management of a school, solicitation of funds, and shipment of deceased's bones back to the old country.⁶⁹ At one time, the Chinese business was said to have changed hands in the associations in Chinatown or to have been supervised under the auspices of the associational heads. Fees were charged for the defraying of expenditures in the maintenance of premises and for salaries paid to the associations' personnel.⁷⁰

Clanship, locality and surname also operate in structuring the early Chinese communities in Canada. In Vancouver, out of the eighty Chinese associations, twenty-three of them are related to clanship.⁷¹ Most of the clan associations are said to have been established "about the turn of the century, post-dating fraternal, locality and community associations by more than a decade."⁷² David Lee notes that early formation of the clan and lineage associations and their prevalence might have been due to the clan-oriented Sze-Yap people and their adherence to traditional ways.⁷³ The clan associations settle disputes among themselves, undertake to exercise justice for the members involved in a dispute with other, provide welfare provisions and celebrate Ching-Ming festival.⁷⁴ Most of the clan and lineage associations in Canada are autonomous internally, but they often exchange information and observers

with others in the country, and they look to the overall leadership in Vancouver. The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association in Vancouver is the center of most of the Chinese associations in British Columbia and claims to represent the Chinese Canadian in the country.

Under the impact of western society, Chinese associations have gradually undergone a process of internal change. W.E. Willmott observed the clan associations in Vancouver have changed from serving political and economic functions to preserving the traditional Chinese culture.⁷⁵

In Southeast Asia where there are large numbers of Chinese, a Chinese can virtually mix "with those whose speech he can understand; to be a partner of a business of the same dialect group and employ his assistants; serve his apprenticeship in the occupations in which a majority of his own dialect speakers are found; marry a girl of the same dialect group and to be carried and buried with those who spoke as he did."⁷⁶

In Prairie City, the Chinese are few in numbers. They cannot form a viable self-contained community without recourse to the political and socio-economic institutions of the larger society. To a certain extent, they have to rely on Canadian social institutions to meet their needs and purposes. The Chinese associations in the city have suffered a loss of membership with the aging and the death of the elderly people. As noted previously, most of the associations are concerned with cultural and recreational purposes - they spend more money in organising the spring festival and the new year party than in the traditional welfare, educational and protection functions. The latter have been taken care of by the larger society. Most of the younger generation are going to Canadian schools and seeking employment in the wider society rather than

looking for opportunities in Chinatown. The Chinese associations in the city may further decline in their influence and power, as the traditional elite become old and the older generation gradually disappears. The younger generation has more contacts with the larger society and has indicated a high degree of acculturation and assimilation; thus their willingness and chances to participate in the Chinatown's social institutions are less likely. This fact, together with the political changes in the homeland today, may further reduce the functional significance of the Chinese social organisation in the city in the near future.

(E) Differential Economic Success and Social Structure

Historically, the motive for Chinese migration overseas was primarily economic rather than political conquest. The various successive dynasties had trade and commercial relations with the countries in Southeast Asia. The Chinese traders were believed to enter North Vietnam at least three centuries B. C. During the T'ang and Sung dynasties, there were official superintendents in Canton, Chienchow, Henchow, and Yang Chow supervising the trade and commercial transactions with the Nanyang. During the Mongols' period, Chinese traders were given official loans to finance their trade, on the condition that seventy percent of the profit would go to the state. In the Ming dynasty, Cheng Ho was sent to Nanyang to display the riches of the Chinese Empire and to pursue a policy of state trading.⁷⁷ Because of long historical contacts and geographical proximity, Chinese traders and merchants were very active in the Nanyang before the coming of the Europeans in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Most of the immigrants had the ambition to amass wealth and then return home. If they "go to the Nanyang without money, most of them will be expected sooner or later to go into business."⁷⁸ With tremendous opportunities opened to them coupled with their aptitude for trade, the Chinese were able to make some headway in their economic advancement. In addition, their peasant values of thrift, toil, frugality, industriousness, and hard work were also factors contributing to the economic success of the immigrants. In his study on the Semarang Chinese, Donald Willmott observes that the Chinese economic success was due to

their perseverance, sense of responsibility toward the extended family and working for long hours for little economic gain. He further points out that the Totok (the Chinese immigrants) were more ambitious and had more business drive than the Peranakans (the local-born Chinese); and he attributes the decline of business striving among the Peranakans to the lenient child-training practices of the Javanese housemaids (the babu).⁷⁹ In Thailand, Coughlin observes that the Chinese family functioned as a vocational-training institution where details of business and trade were taught to the children. The children helped their parents as shop assistants and ran errands when they grew up; and they were thus socialized into their parental businesses.⁸⁰

The world view of the Chinese according to Skinner, is said to be "kin-centered" and their primary goal is not "individual salvation but lineage survival and advancement." The Chinese kinship system thus "encourages the development of a protestant-type ethic."⁸¹ While the Chinese kinship and lineage cannot be readily reproduced intact in overseas settings, the economic relationships based on common clan members, common surname, shared dialect and common geographical origins seem to recreate a certain degree of solidarity among the overseas Chinese. The kinship obligations and wider network of interrelations among clan members seem to provide some basis for financial security and social insurance. In Southeast Asia, the clan and lineage organisations, which stress the needs of protection and mutual help among kin, are "the foundation for the communal wealth and prosperity of the overseas Chinese communities."⁸² Some of the large businesses and commercial enterprises are based on "natural personal ties" and cooperation and solidarity among the kinsmen. Because of the clan interrelations, the newly arrived

immigrants were helped to get certain occupations which they could provide. The formation of the clan and lineage organisations for economic purposes seems to be functionally relevant to peasant social structures. This also leads to the autonomous development of the overseas Chinese economy. The close-knit clan relationships and the "informality of Chinese business operation permitted the transfer of large sums of merchandise by a few words." In South Vietnam, the Chinese are said to have been able "to transact a fairly large amount of business on a relatively small monetary base."⁸³

In some parts of Southeast Asia, the clan and lineage also provide some criteria for interrelationships within the economic framework. Tien observes that the rural Chinese in Sarawak depend on clan relationships for their economic position and "even their very subsistence." Chinese would be offered loan and credit on the basis of being a clansman, or they would vouch for another since they knew each other as clansmen. Nearly every "rural Chinese deals with his own clansmen's shops."⁸⁴

The dialect principle also operates in the structure of economic cooperation. There is some degree of observable economic interdependency among the members of the same dialect group. Tien notes that in Kuching, the distribution of the grocers' shops corresponds approximately with the distribution of the various dialect groups. A Chinese likes to deal with a grocer of his dialect group. The barbers of a particular dialect group "tend to be situated in streets which are predominantly that dialect group's preserve and the bus drivers drive their vehicles out into the community in which members of their own group resides."⁸⁵ It is to be noted that linguistic skills and professional know-how are required of people of one dialect group who want to enter

into an occupational area dominated by another dialect group.

Because of clan relationship, the Chinese will assist their relatives and kinsmen to seek employment or ask their kinsmen to come over to help in their businesses. After assisting in running the business for some time, the newly arrived immigrant might branch out to set up a business of his own. As time goes on, a distinctive pattern of economic specialization by a particular dialect group appears to emerge in most of the countries in Southeast Asia. Because of the nature of their mutual assistance in economic cooperation, a relative in one area may ask the help of another relative in an occupation over which the latter has some control. Therefore, there might be a relationship between one dialect group and one specialized occupation in one area; but the occupation monopolised by one dialect group in one area does not belong to the same dialect group in another area. It has also been noted that the economic specializations do not correspond with the type of occupation and skills in China.⁸⁶ The correlation between economic specialization and a particular dialect group in Southeast Asia is delineated in the following diagram:

Table XIX

ECONOMIC AND OCCUPATIONAL CONCENTRATIONS OF VARIOUS
DIALECT GROUPS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA BEFORE THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Countries	Hokkien	Teochiew	<u>Dialect Groups</u>			
			Cantonese	Hakka	Hainanese	Henghua
Philippines	trade banking importing retailing		shoe-makers restaurants hotels grocery stores cabinet makers			San Kiang Kwang Sai Luichow
Malaysia peninsula	commerce retail trade	sundry shops	carpenters mining rubber plantations merchants	tin-miners farming pawshops drug store	restaurants ants coffee shops	bicycle shops tin-miners

(continued)

Dialect Groups

Countries	Hokkien	Teochiew	Cantonese	Hakka	Hainanese	Henghua	San Kiang	Kwang Sai	Luichow
Malaysia	export	grocery	clock and	gold mi-	coffee	mechanics	carpenters	pedlars -	charcoal
Sarawak	trade	stores	watch shop	ners	shops	fishermen	furniture	station-	makers
	goldsmith		shoe-ma-	agricul-		bicycle	making	ery	
			kers	turalists		shops		trade	
				tinsmiths				tooth	
			tailors					artistry	
			vegetable						
			sellers						
Singapore	export and shipping	banking	cloth sel-	hotels		mechanics			
	import		lers		coffee	bicycle			
	trade	sundry	pawnshops	shops	shops	shops			
	rubber	restaur-							
	factories	ants							
	stock ex-								
	change								
	general								
	commission								
	agents								
Indonesia	trade	merchants	tin-mi-	mining				tin miners	
	commerce	farming	mining	rubber,					
		market	cabinet	pepper, &					
		gardeners	making	tobacco					
			industrial	cultiva-					
			workers	tors					

(continued)

Dialect Groups

Countries	Hokkien	Teochiew	Cantonese	Hakka	Hainanese	Henghua	San Kiang	Kwang Sai	Luichow
Thailand	rubber exporters	rice merchants chants pawn brokers	machine shops	tailors leather shops	saw-miller barbers				
		herbalists							
Cambodia	hardware sellers	rural shopkeeper peddlers	carpenters mechanics restaurants	cobblers drug dealers	shirt sellers pepper merchants				
					hotels				
Vietnam	commercial enterprises	labourers agriculturalists	artisans boatmen workers	tea merchants chants cultivators	pepper planters domestic servants				
Laos		skilled workers bankers carpenters & merchants	restaurants ants barbers exporters & importers						

- Sources: 1. Skinner, G.W. Chinese Society in Thailand, New York: Cornell University Press, 1957, pp. 315-316.
2. Tien, Ju-kang. The Chinese in Sarawak, London: London School of Economics and Political Science, 1953.
3. Weightman, G.W. "Community Organisation of Chinese Living in Manila," Philippine Social Science and Humanities, Vol. 19, 1954, pp. 25-39.
4. Willmott, W.E. The Chinese in Cambodia, Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1967.

It is a common observation that, before the Second World War, the Hokkien in Southeast Asia were the merchant capitalists, engaging in rubber trade, coconut and pineapple plantations, banking, shipping, and other primary industries. The Teochiew were primarily engaging in foodstuff and dried fish businesses and rice-milling. The Cantonese were the artisans, tin-miners, sauce-makers and labourers. The Hakka were the pawnshop owners, drug store owners, shoe-makers, tailors, school teachers and herbalists. The Hainanese were coffee shop owners, brokers, restaurant owners, cooks, waiters, factory workers and domestic servants. The Henghua were the bicycle shop owners and mechanics; and the Sin Kiang people (Chekiang, Anhui, Kiangsu and Kiang Hsi) were the furniture makers and stationery shop owners.

The dialect principle also offered a convenient framework for the economic activities among the Chinese businessmen in various parts of Southeast Asia. For example, the Hokkien grocers' shops were linked "by their rubber trade with the Fukienese (Hokkien) firms in Singapore who dominated the export market."⁸⁷ The Teochiew rice merchant in Thailand might export his rice to the Teochiew businessmen in Malaysia and Singapore. The Hakka sugar plantation owner in Indonesia might export his raw products to another Hakka businessman in Cambodia.

This dialect interconnected network might extend to the various economic centers in Southeast Asia, notably Singapore, Kuala Lumpur and Manila, to Hong Kong and Taipei, and before 1949, to Shanghai and Canton. This arrangement provided an industrial and commercial network which cut across the various national boundaries. It also served as a basis for the mobility of Chinese capital in Southeast Asia.

By certain economic manipulations and calculations, the Chinese could monopolise certain merchandise, goods and services, and capital in the economic structures in the entire region. The Chinese distribution system and the line of control from one area to the other permeated the whole regional economy in Southeast Asia.

Certainly, the heavy concentration in a particular occupation by a particular dialect group and the Chinese interlocking interests in the regional economy of Southeast Asia were more true before the Second World War than during the post war years. Due to occupational mobility, social change and various economic opportunities, the monopolisation or concentration of a particular dialect group in a specific occupation in one particular area was on the wane. The emergence of native nationalism and the persecution of Chinese traders and merchants curtailed the economic development and capital formation of the Chinese.

Before the Second World War, Chinese domination of the native economy was apparent in most of the Southeast Asian societies. In Malaysia, they were the dominant group in transport industry, lumber industry, retail trade, sago industry, rubber industry, and manufacturing; and were the professionals in banking, and financial activities. In Singapore, the Chinese virtually controlled all the economic institutions and exerted tremendous economic power. In Burma, they were rice-mill owners, saw-mill owners, petroleum products agents, and export and import traders. In Thailand, throughout the 19th century, they dominated foreign trade, retail trade, tin-mining, shipping, finances and all kinds of industries. At one time they monopolised the rice trade which was the bloodline of the Thai national economy. The Chinese community in Bangkok with its "extra-ordinary concentration of retail and wholesale

business houses, shops, banks, markets, and factories" constituted the "economic nucleus of the city and the nation."⁸⁸ In fact, the city of Bangkok was established by the Chinese as a trading post and was later turned into a capital. In Cambodia, the Chinese controlled every phase of economic life and the entrepreneurial and managerial skills. They formed an important commercial middle class and predominated among the merchants and industrialists. It was said that the Chinese probably "represent over ninety percent of the total number of people engaged in commerce in Cambodia and ninety-five percent of the merchants themselves."⁸⁹ They monopolised export and import trade, rice trade, transportation, market gardening and manufacturing. In Vietnam, the Chinese were in a commanding position in rice processing, retail trade, pepper growing, saw-mills and sugar refineries. They were the large landowners and exporters of rice. In fact, it was the Chinese who founded the city of Cholon (the great market) in 1778. They were the important merchant class and controlled the entire economy of South Vietnam up to 1956. In Laos, most of the large enterprises such as banks, insurance companies, saw mills, motor trucks, transport firms and the export and import houses were in the hands of the Chinese.⁹⁰ In Indonesia, the Chinese were middle-class merchants, controlling much of the retail and wholesale trade. In Semarang and Sukabumi, they were mostly engaged in running restaurants, service trade, dry-cleaning, moving-picture theatres, beauty shops and many other types of business.⁹¹ In Java, the Chinese, besides developing an urban commercial economy, have also maintained a "strong position in the trading and credit structure of the countryside."⁹² The Chinese occupied a very strong position in the retail trade in almost every province in the Philippines. It was observed that

since the seventeenth century, the Chinese "commercial and credit system covered virtually every business and reached from Manila to the remotest corners of the archipelago."⁹³ They established themselves primarily in commerce, export and import trade, rice-milling, and the lumbering industry. In the rural areas, they did sari-sari business and ran general stores.

It has been noted that in colonial Southeast Asia, the white men held the cow and the Chinese milked it. In a pluralistic situation where there was a Western superstructure of administration and power, and a native village economy at the bottom, the Chinese could take full advantage of the favourable position of an economic intermediary. In a colonial economy of this kind, there was a functional interdependency between the Europeans and the Chinese. The Europeans colonists brought political stability, law, and order, while the Chinese provided labour, skills, and hard work. The Europeans had a language and cultural problem, were not used to rural living, and were thus isolated from the indigenous people. They had to rely on the Chinese for internal economic penetration. As Fitzgerald notes, in Malaysia, a British order "gave peace, built roads and railways, and the Chinese enterprise founded towns and cities."⁹⁴ Chinese labour and patience coupled with the Spanish economic policy for export of cash crops and raw material contributed to the economic development of the Philippines. In French Indochina, the Chinese leased land from the Royal court and organised rice and fish trade. Chinese middlemen were needed for the distribution of imported goods and for collecting produce from the countryside.⁹⁵ On the other hand, there was also an economic interdependency between the Chinese and the native peasantry. The Chinese supplied European

manufactured goods to the peasants and sold the natives' raw products to the Westerners; the Chinese thus linked the peasant economy with the international market for raw materials. The Chinese had the know-how and their knowledge and business acumen were functionally relevant to a colonial social structure where there is a technically less advanced culture.

Other than taking advantages of the Western commercial expansion and playing a complementary role to the Europeans in the areas of trade and business, the Chinese further adopted the Western financial and commercial institutions and modified their outdated organisational methods. They set up European-style export and import firms, light industry, shipping lines, transport industry, mining, and manufacturing factories. With the mastery of the Western modern business management and techniques coupled with the new trade centers and the new business opportunities created by the colonial powers, the Chinese were able to establish their pre-eminence in economics.

However, with the decline of Western colonialism and the emergence of local nationalism, the Chinese economic position in Southeast Asia seemed to be undergoing rapid change. In exerting their newly gained political control, the various native governments hoped to do away with the Chinese economic "strangleholds" on their respective countries. Discriminatory taxation and rigid control of licenses were imposed on the Chinese, whereas preferential treatment was given to the local people. In Indonesia, an anti-Chinese movement was initiated with the hope of replacing the Chinese economy by native ownership. The Chinese shops were closed down, and their licenses were not renewed. The Chinese were denied economic opportunities and their properties

were confiscated. In the Philippines, the government passed various discriminatory acts against the Chinese; for example, the new booking law, the retail trade nationalization law and the rice and corn trade nationalization law. However, the overseas Chinese capital was "trading capital as well as industrial capital;" the anti-Chinese measures dealt "a staggering blow (only) to the Chinese trading capital."⁹⁶ The Chinese capital investment in secondary consumer goods, industries and local products did not appear to be highly affected by the anti-Chinese measures.

In view of the hostile environment, the Chinese realized that if they wanted to consolidate their economic power and to continue to attain economic success, they would have to search for a reliable political base. Already, in some parts of Southeast Asia, there was an observable pattern of cooperation between the Chinese economy and the native political force. The Chinese sought political and economic compromise, and peaceful co-existence. There was Laos-Chinese partnerships in business in which the Laos supplied the government contracts and the Chinese provided the capital and managerial skills. In Thailand, the Thai officials and elites were allowed to serve on the boards of the Chinese firms in a "protective" capacity. In 1952, a majority of the most influential Chinese leaders had formal business connection with the government and with other Thai elites. There were Sino-Thai business alliances and a Thai semi-official corporation which relied on Chinese management skills and knowledge. For example, in 1950, a Chinese leader was made the managing director of the National Assembly and chief of the war veterans. Though the emergence of joint Sino-Thai partnerships in business and the government's entry into trade may have undermined some areas of Chinese economic power, this situation can be viewed as

a kind of economic adaptation in a changing society. Skinner notes that this is a case where the "business power was in search of political protection, and the political power was in search of legitimate sources of wealth and business control."⁹⁷

In Malaysia, the dominant political party in power is composed of three ethnic organisations: the United Malay National Organisation, the Malayan Chinese Association, and the Malayan Indian Congress. It is understood that political concessions in terms of special rights and constitutional privileges are given to the Malays, whereas some economic concessions are given to the Chinese and the East Indian communities. In Cambodia, the Chinese merchants intermarry with the members of the nobility or aristocracy and thus maintain their position of economic power and prestige. The emergence of the Sino-Kher elite and upper class consolidates the Cambodian-Chinese position in general.⁹⁸

The economic position of the Chinese in most of the western societies seems to assume a less favourable position. As noted before, the migration to the West is a comparatively recent phenomenon, notably in the early and mid-nineteenth century. Because of their lack of historical experience in the West, and since their traditional business techniques are functionally marginal to the Occidental economic framework, the Chinese in general have not gained much headway in economic advancement. Moreover, the earlier discriminatory acts and various forms of racial prejudice, coupled with inadequate knowledge of English, insufficient capital, shortage of labour and unfamiliarity with the Western economic institutions, to a large degree obstructed their success in economic endeavour.

The number of Chinese immigrants in Britain is relatively insignificant and they do not constitute an economic threat to the host society. There are about 30,000 of them, mainly working as seamen, in the dock districts of East London, Liverpool, Cardiff, and Bristol, and as owners and employees in the Chinese restaurants. In recent years, the occupations of seafaring and laundry work by the Chinese have been on the decrease whereas the establishment of restaurants, fish and chip shops and boarding-houses has gone up.⁹⁹

The early Chinese immigrants to New Zealand were miners, and they later entered into market-gardening, fruit retailing and laundry work. The Chinese would bring their relatives or kinsmen to New Zealand and helped to train them in their occupations. Partnerships in business based on kinship or friendship were common. There were some Chinese restaurants and fancy-goods shops in Auckland and Wellington. The early Chinese were said to have suffered from racial discrimination which hampered their economic success. Fong notes that there was a tendency among the white people "not to rent favourable premises to Chinese. [There was] reluctance of employees to work for Chinese employers and preference for patronizing New Zealanders instead of Chinese businesses." Many employers were said to have not employed Chinese if they could find others to fill the positions. Naturalization was also "denied to the Chinese until 1952" and that meant that "employment in the public service and other positions were closed to the Chinese."¹⁰⁰

The rush for the "new gold mountain" in Australia attracted many Chinese; but almost from the start, there was anti-Oriental legislation and persecution of the Chinese. The Federal government stopped the admission of Chinese immigrants in 1901. With the decline in mining,

the Chinese branched out into furniture making, restaurateuring, catering, laundrying, fishing and grocery business. However, due to the lack of organization, shortage of capital and the continued competition posed by the industrial and mercantile powers, the Chinese had lost their economic position in many trades.¹⁰¹

The discovery of gold in California attracted the Chinese immigrants to come to the United States. They were employed to build railways, to clear forests and to work in timber and mining sites. As from the beginning, there was fear and persecution of the Chinese. Many states passed laws prohibiting the employment of Chinese in teaching and civil services. They were not allowed to take courses in medicine, dentistry, social work and law. California barred the entrance of all Mongolians in 1855. Any Chinese who was convicted of "a criminal offence should have his hair cut to a length of one inch from his head."¹⁰² Fincher noted that the excessive clannishness of the Chinese and the "secret power of the guilds and the authority of the headmen inspired a strange uncanny sort of fear in many of the white population."¹⁰³ The Chinese, as new-comers, had to meet the conditions of the prevailing economic order established by the settled population. They were unable to compete with big "corporate wealth" and thus mainly engaged in trade and occupations that supplemented the larger economic order. The modern economic, banking, and financial institutions were foreign to the early Chinese and their small businesses and retail trade could hardly exert any influence on the dominant economic order. They refrained from competition with the corporate businesses and specialized in operating restaurants, laundries, grocery stores and curio shops. With the coming of the steam laundry and the establishment of supermarkets, their hand laundries and grocery stores were

unable to withstand competition. Even in the restaurant business, they face competition from modern cefeterias.

The Chinese did not advance economically after the Second World War when most of the discriminating measures had been removed. The retardation might have been due to limited economic opportunities and the earlier discriminatory legislation. However, the younger generation is entering the professional fields such as engineering, medicine, architecture and banking. Not many of them are perpetuating the traditional laundries and restaurant businesses. In 1962, Kung noted that there were three Chinese banks in America and the Chinese "working as lawyers, in banks, insurance companies or brokerage houses are few and usually have been employed principally to deal with Chinese clients."¹⁰⁴

In the United States, under the pressure of racial and occupational discrimination, the clan and district associations formed by the early Chinese did operate to a certain degree to protect the economic interests of the Chinese. These associations functioned to settle disputes among the Chinese businessmen and to control specific enterprise, occupations, and business sites. Certain business sites were said to have been reserved for certain members of district association and this right was respected in order to avoid associational conflict. The people from Sze-Yap were said to have controlled most of the work in tailoring, repairing, mending, small retailing, laundries and restaurant businesses. A kind of economic nepotism was said to exist. A Hakka would see to it that another Hakka got a job.¹⁰⁵ In general, Lee notes that from the standpoint of the Western class structure, there is small upper and middle class and a large lower class among the Chinese in the United States. Most of them are living

in the ghettos of Chinatown.¹⁰⁶

In Canada, the early Chinese immigrants suffered much the same kind of treatment as those in the United States. There was anti-Oriental legislation denying them the right to vote, to organize trade unions and to engage in certain occupations. Most of them remained in Chinatown and worked in the fields of domestic service, laundries, restaurateuring, catering services and market gardening. In the Vertical Mosaic, John Porter points out the Canadian charter groups (the French and the English) have imposed "entrance status" criteria for the various ethnic groups. The "entrance status" implied lower level occupational roles and could have been perpetuated and rendered into a kind of permanent "caste-like" status as "it has been with the Chinese in Canada." Those ethnic groups in the position of low "entrance status" also tend to be occupationally specific with successive generations taking the same kinds of occupations year after year, such as with the Chinese restaurateurs and laundrymen.¹⁰⁷

Kinship relations did operate to a certain extent among the early Chinese for mutual help in business concerns. The clan and lineage associations served to minimize conflict, competition and disputes among the businessmen, since the majority of them were engaged in the same lines of occupations and businesses. Willmott notes that, in British Columbia, some clan associations do assist their members in business ventures. For example, the Huang Clan Association is said to provide capital for a member who failed in business. The associations also function as employment agencies for the unemployed and this sort of hiring is said to provide the employers with added control over his employees by appealing to clan loyalties and clan association

sanctions."¹⁰⁸ willmott also notes that in the nineteenth century, some degree of occupational specialization was evident among the Cantonese from different localities, for example, "Chung Shan tended to peddle vegetables, Tai Shan to laundries, Kai Ping to restaurants."¹⁰⁹

In Prairie City, it has been noted that the Chinese mainly engage in restaurant and grocery businesses. Their capital is small and their economic activities only relate to the periphery of the dominant economic order. The Chinese rely on hard work, long hours, and patience; and their businesses do not need scientific and skillful management nor extensive business training. The early Chinese who came from a peasant background had problems with the English language and were hardly able to work effectively within the framework of Western economics. With thrift and industry, they managed to build small businesses.

The Chinese Businessmen's Association in the city is a small organisation, and its economic activities and power are comparatively unimportant when compared with the Chinese Chamber of Commerce in Southeast Asia. The clan and the Chinese Benevolent Association claims to settle business disputes and competition, but this aspect of their functions is diminishing. The younger businessmen tend to settle their disputes in the courts rather than by accepting the decisions of clan leaders.

According to my informants, some economic dealings based on common geographical origin did exist among the early Chinese. A Mah from Toi-Shan would like to deal with or to purchase goods from a grocery store owned by another Mah from Toi-Shan. It was also likely that a Gee would give credit only to another Gee and not to others. As there are more "westernized" Chinese in the city, this type of economic dealings

with kinship obligations is seldom practised now.

In general, it can be said that the city's Chinese, as an "entrance status" group, occupy the lower economic strata of the larger social framework. They do not have big industries, commercial houses, export and import firms, and are not wholesalers, large scale traders and dealers as in Southeast Asia. However, the younger generation and the native born are striving to elevate themselves to middle-class positions, and are trying to qualify themselves in the various professional fields.

(F) Persistence and Change

The Chinese have settled in many different social structures in many parts of the world. The persistence and change of their social organisation, customs, traditions, culture, and social life are subjected to the dynamic tempo of the local political, economic, and social forces that they encounter. There is a constant interplay between Chinese overseas social organisation and forms of life on the one hand, and the "assimilative currents" of the indigeneous societies. The Chinese all over the world have manifested various configurations of assimilative patterns. They have adopted many styles of life, attained different standards of living, acquired different attitudes, behavioural patterns, and values and belief system. Some of them speak different languages and acquire different food habits and material cultures. The different levels of assimilation are further associated with their history of migration, different sex ratios, the numbers of generations, and differential rates of intermarriage.

In Southeast Asia, several assimilative configurations can be delineated. In Malaysia, the younger generation, despite many years of settlement, is still preserving some of the Chinese customs and traditions. Some of them go to Chinese language schools, read Chinese newspapers, and go to Chinese theatres and stage performances. Before the Second World War, some of them were highly stimulated by Chinese nationalism, and there was a "community of feeling" among some segments of the Chinese population. The rich are said to have striven to adhere to a Chinese way of life and display the superiority of the Chinese culture. In his study on the Chinese of Sarawak, Tien notes that in

"many of the material details of everyday life, these Nanyang Chinese often appear more Chinese than the Chinese of China;" and "a well-to-do Chinese wedding in the Nanyang brings out replicas of all the old Ming costumes which are seldom seen in China today." The "reproduction of the material background of Chinese life [is sometimes] ludicrously over-emphasized."¹¹⁰

The Hokkien in Sibn are said to "use Fukien dialects, follow Fukien customs, stick to Fukien superstitious worshipping and dress after the Fukien fashion."¹¹¹ However, the most distinctive group is the Malaysian Babas (a racially mixed group, usually of Chinese and Malay parentage or partially assimilated to the Malay community). This group has been going through three phases of change in their assimilative process. Under British rule, the Baba, being English-educated, served as the intermediaries between the colonial government and the "China-born" majority. They worked as clerks, teachers and in the civil services. They were pro-British and were loyal to the British Crown. The wealthy emulated the life-styles of the British overlords; and they behaved as much as possible like Englishmen. They had evening tea, played cricket, mixed socially, and transacted business with the British. They spoke little Chinese and the majority of them ate Malay food and spoke Malay at home. However, in other areas of life, the Babas had a distinctive culture, blending the Malay, Chinese and British elements. In their literature, folklore, music costumes and mannerisms, one could always find the expressions of these three elements. Freedman notes that at a Baba wedding, "one may feel that one had privileged access to the China past; at a modern wedding, one is more likely to be impressed by the Chinese version of western symbolism."¹¹²

The Babas also exhibited some degree of marginality. Under British rule, they were the natural-born British subjects; but they were Chinese subjects by "jure sanguinis." They were not entitled to British passports, and were not subject to legal protection by the British consulate when they were abroad. At the same time, the Babas were also aware of their Oriental social and cultural identities. Furthermore, they were warned by the British of the dire consequences of adopting double allegiance to Pax Britannica and to China.

However, in the post-war years when Malaysians were agitating for independence, the Baba, by their abilities to move between the Malay and Chinese culture, assumed brilliant leadership. They could communicate with the Chinese in Chinese dialect, and with the Malays in Malay. Some of them assumed important government positions, and many of them qualified themselves in medicine and law.

But, in the post-independence years, the Baba community was reduced in size due to the coming of Chinese immigrants and the increase of the local-born Chinese population. Their "economic power and future declined to those of the established immigrants;" Chinese "nationalism had undermined their confidence in the Malaysianized culture." Consequently, the Baba "moved back into the Chinese cultural fold."¹¹³

In Trengganu, as has been noted before, the Babas, while living in isolated hinterlands and having prolonged contacts with the Malays, had shown a high degree of cultural and biological assimilation with the Malays. But with the influence of increased numbers of Chinese immigrants and with the emergence of native nationalism and Muslim orthodoxy, there was a renaissance of Chinese elements in the Babas' communities. There was a renewed use of the family ancestral altars and

calligraphy around the doorways of the houses, and sending of children to Chinese schools.¹¹⁴

In Indonesia, the Totoks (the old immigrants) are more oriented to China, having come from China comparatively recently. In Java, Skinner observes that thousands of Chinese could trace back their descent as many as twelve generations. But the "descendents of immigrants retained their Chinese names and continued to identify as Chinese, generation after generation."¹¹⁵

However, the Peranakans, the local-born Chinese often of mixed ancestry with the Indonesians, manifest a dynamic process of assimilation just as the Babas do. The Peranakans speak an Indonesianized Hokkien dialect, with a peculiar syntax and lexicon. Their kinship terminology retains many Hokkien addresses and references, with a mixture of Javanese kinship terms. Their culture, such as drama, music, poetry and even cuisine is a blending of Chinese, Indonesian and Dutch elements. In some situations, the Peranakans maintain Chinese values, bear Chinese surnames, adopt Javanese customs, and adapt to the socio-economic conditions of the host society.

In colonial Indonesia, the Peranakan elite was intensely attracted to the Dutch elite. They emulated the ways of life and culture of the powerful Dutch ruling class. However, Skinner notes that with the rise of Chinese nationalism, the balancing of the sex ratio among the Chinese population, and the establishment of Chinese schools, the Peranakan population, by the time of the Second World War, could be classified under three categories: a. the mercantile middle class moved to "recapture Chinese culture and utilised Chinese schools;" b. the lower class moved toward the indigenous society reluctantly and utilised

Chinese-Malay or native schools; c. the top elite was still with the Dutch society.

The sending of the Peranakans' children to the Chinese schools was "an indication of the resinitiation process in Peranakans society."¹¹⁶ In some cases, the children of the Peranakans have grown up to consider themselves as "real Chinese;" for the Chinese language schools were said to have imparted Chinese values and to have reinforced the Chinese cultural heritage and social identity. In some situations, the Peranakans were said to have "come closer to Chinese modes of family organisation;" and "their wedding ceremonies retain more traditional Chinese elements than those of the Totoks." Some of them still maintained deity altars at home and observed religious festivals according to the lunar calendar; and ancestor worship was still widely observed.¹¹⁷

However, with the emergence of Indonesian political and economic nationalism coupled with the persecution of both the Chinese and the Peranakans, the Peranakans felt the strains of forced assimilation. Some Peranakans sent their children to Indonesian schools, dropped their Chinese surnames and replaced them with Javanese names. With official discrimination, Indonesianized educational programs and mass media, Tan Giok-lan observes that in Sukabumi, the Peranakans are gradually assimilated into the Indonesian pattern of life. There is little difference today between the food pattern of the Peranakans and the lower class Indonesians, and the house style of the wealthy Peranakans resembles that of the wealthy Indonesians.¹¹⁸

In the Philippines under the Spanish rule, there was considerable intermarriage between the Chinese and the Phillipinos. Their offspring were called "Mestizos." The Mestizos, reared by Catholic mothers

are almost all Catholics and identify themselves with Spain or the Philippines. They adopt Spanish personal names and surnames. They form a distinctive group with a culture blending Spanish, Chinese and Filipino elements.¹¹⁹ Some of the Mestizos are said to be proud of their Chinese heritage because many national heroes of the Philippines were part Chinese: for example, Jose Rizal, Emilio Aguinaldo, Quezon, Osmena and Laurel. However, the Chinese descendants of the immigrants are said to be maintaining their Chinese social and cultural identities. The Chinese schools in the Philippines are said to instill Chinese national consciousness and cultural heritage; and the networks of the Chinese association and the circulation of the Chinese language newspapers seem to perpetuate the Chinese community feeling. But, some of the Chinese schools have now been closed or restricted by the Filipino government.

In Thailand, Coughlin notes that the Chinese have established a minority community in which there is a continued functioning of its own social system. Most of the Chinese can get what they want in the Chinese community and do not have to depend on the social institution of the host society. The Chinese population remains by and large "distinct from the Thai people in occupations, in the formation of voluntary associations, in the use of educational facilities, and in political interests and activities;" and the second and third generation Chinese are said to identify almost completely with the Chinese community.¹²⁰

In Double Identity: The Chinese in Modern Thailand, Coughlin observes that the Chinese who settle among the Thai neighbours in the rural areas are more susceptible to acculturation influences. He also indicates that the sons of the wealthy Chinese merchants called "A-Sia," spend their time pursuing pleasure, gambling and drinking; however, "A-Sia"

are not typical of the second generation Chinese, who are ambitious and hardworking.¹²¹

Persons born of mixed Chinese and Thai parentage are called "Lukjin." The Lukjin exhibit both Chinese and Thai cultural influences. At the turn of the century, the Lukjin would become Thai and adopt Thai identity, Thai names, customs and values. However, due to the increase of Chinese immigrants after the First World War, coupled with the increased number of Chinese schools and the established Chinese press, some of the Lukjin consider themselves as Chinese rather than as Thai.

Due to the openness of Thai society, the tolerant nature of the Thai's Theraveda Buddhism, and the historical tradition where some of the part-Chinese were Thai kings, the Chinese can be easily accepted by the Thai so long as he used "a Thai name, [speaks] the language and [behaves] as a Thai" regardless of ancestry.¹²²

The Thai government has embarked upon a program of Thai-ification of the Chinese, pressuring them to acquire Thai citizenship, adopt Thai names or behave as a Thai. The government closed down the Chinese schools or changed the teaching materials and the medium of instructions in Chinese schools. The government also pursued an economic policy of "Thailand for the Thai," and passed a discriminatory occupational exclusion act against the alien Chinese. Contrary to the situation in Indonesia, the "force assimilation" policy and the anti-Chinese measures drew the Chinese together; in some situations, they formed cohesive internal organisations vis-a-vis the larger social order.

In Vietnam, the Chinese can achieve upward social mobility and can act and behave like Vietnamese without many difficulties. This is because there are cultural similarities between the Chinese and the

Vietnamese; in fact, the Vietnamese culture is patterned traditionally after the Chinese civilization. The offspring of the Chinese-Vietnamese marriages are called "Minh-huong" and the intermarriages in most cases are successful. In actual fact, some of the Vietnamese are said to favour intermarriage with the Chinese.

The children born of mixed parentage between the Chinese and the Muongs and Thos of Northern Tongking are known as Hung-dans, Mans or Miens. In Laos, the recent immigration of the Chinese from Hong Kong and Yunan has strengthened the number of Chinese and it is unlikely that the "urban Chinese will be assimilated."¹²³

Traditionally, in Burma, the Burmese have been generally friendly to the Chinese, calling them "Pauk Paw" (next of kin). Though most of the occupations dominated by the Chinese are of middlemen nature, they suffer relatively little discrimination. The Chinese still maintain their cultural identity and communicate among themselves in Chinese. The offspring of Chinese men and Burmese women "were thought to have a great future." The sons were brought up as Chinese and the daughters as Burmese.¹²⁴

In the West, where there is a relatively small number of Chinese and where the Chinese do not predominate in the political and economic arenas, it is common observation that they acquire a high degree of acculturation within the first and second generations. Their assimilative patterns are very evident in the realm of material culture; for example, house styles, dress and a generally Western way of life. In Liverpool, the Chinese and Anglo-Chinese children are attending local Council schools and their understanding and knowledge of Chinese culture is superficial. Though some of the Chinese still emphasize family

obligations and family pride, the majority of them regard the place of settlement as their home. Many Chinese bury their dead in a special section of a Liverpool cemetery rather than traditionally sending the "embalmed bodies of the dead" back to China.¹²⁵

In Australia, many Australian-born Chinese know "nothing of Chinese ways, neither speak nor understand Chinese;" and "many third generation Chinese regard themselves as completely Australian and feel little direct concern with China."¹²⁶ Moreover, the number of Chinese in Australia is not large, and they do not pose an economic threat to the dominant society. Other than some immigration restrictions, the gradual acceptance of the Chinese by the Aussie and the Australian-educated younger generation facilitates the process of assimilation. In New Zealand, Fong notes that the younger generation "speaks more English than Chinese and has adopted the New Zealand ways of life;" in addition, "their thoughts, ideals and attitude are those of New Zealand."¹²⁷

In the earlier days in the United States, the Chinese immigrants, under the pressure of racial discrimination, political persecution, biased attitudes, and prejudicial employment opportunities, withdrew themselves behind the walls of Chinatown. The maintenance of Chinatown preserved Chinese social institutions and customs, but also served as a social barrier between the Chinese and the Occidentals. Moreover, because of the language barrier, there were very few opportunities for the early Chinese to participate in the institutions of the dominant society. Though there are some marriages between Chinese and Negroes, intermarriage between the Chinese and the whites has not been frequent.

However, the younger generation, especially the native-born who are brought up in the larger society outside of Chinatown and who

experience less racial discrimination, will be Americanized at a rapid rate in the years to come. It has been observed that they are becoming assimilated in many aspect of their lives; their behavioral pattern, thinking, language, and food habits are the same as those of any other Americans. Kung observes that the sixth generation of the Chinese-Americans will soon emerge and will lose most of their Chinese heritage. Even their native-born parents, having been brought up in the American socio-cultural setting, are in many ways Americans.¹²⁸

Like the early Chinese immigrants to the United States, the early Chinese in Canada suffered the hardships of discrimination and persecution. They lived with their kind in the confines of Chinatown and had few contacts with Canadian institutions and customs. They were seldom invited to Canadian homes, clubs, and parties. Cheng noted that some of the restaurants, theatres, and hotels even barred them from admission. They were regarded as inferior and were treated with disgust and contempt.¹²⁹ Because of racial discrimination, the rate of intermarriage was negligible. Moreover, intermarriage was disapproved by both Chinese and the whites. Some of the intermarried couples would be regarded as outcasts and would not be accepted.

However, with the removal of political and social discrimination after the Second world war, the Chinese are gradually being accepted. The young descendants, especially the native born, manifest a high degree of assimilation in their language, behavioural patterns, and dress. They do not have much association with the clan and lineage organisations. With the breakdown of discriminatory measures, coupled with the relative openness of Canadian society, the dependency of the Canadian-born Chinese on the goods and services in Chinatown will be reduced.¹³⁰ It appears

that the young descendents, even within the period of the second and third generations, are more readily assimilated into the Canadian society.

It is my observation that they will in the near future participate fully in the social institutions and activities in Canada.

In Prairie city, it has been noted that the older generation, because of language difficulties, living in Chinatown and adhering to their not easily discarded old modes of life, show only a minimum degree of outward acculturation. They still show some abeissance to the Chinatown elite and depend to a large extent upon Chinatown's social institutions. However, the native-born know little of Chinese customs and traditions. In most respects, they think and act like other Canadians. Many of them cannot relate to the place or origins of their forefathers, and their home villages; they do not know how to read the lunar calendar, and some do not even know how to speak Cantonese or Toi-Shan dialect well. They observe Christmas, Thanksgiving, Easter, and other Canadian holidays. For them, Canada is a place to live and not a place just to earn a living, as with the earlier sojourners. They do not have any emotional and cultural ties with the mother country.

The new immigrants from Hong Kong, mainland China, or Formosa, do not exert many influences on the Canadian-born Chinese. There is no renaissance of Chinese elements among them like the Babas on the Eastern coast of the Malaysian peninsula or the younger generation in Thailand. The Chinese community does not constitute a powerful socio-economic force for the younger generation to depend upon. The young do not depend on Chinatown's social system and are not led by Chinatown's elite. With the removal of legal, social and economic inequality, the native born will be more readily absorbed into the larger society, and

will discard their Chinese ways and ideas, just as the dropping of the use of chopsticks at home.

Chapter VI -- Footnotes

1,

Fyfe, Frances, Chinese Immigration to New Zealand in the 19th Century, unpublished M.A. Thesis, Victoria University College, 1948, pp. 57. (Quoted in Fong, Ng Bickleen, The Chinese in New Zealand, Hong Kong University Press, 1959, pp.20)

2

Fong, Ng Bickleen, ibid, pp.21-31.

3

Fincher Jr., E.E., Past and Future Effects of Chinese Immigration in the Pacific Area, M.A. Thesis, Columbia University, New York, 1934, pp.26-27.

4

Book of Li, title Li Yun, Book XXI, Chapter 9. (Quoted in the title page, China Moulded by Confucius, by Cheng Tien-Hsi, The London Institute of World Affairs, Stevens and Sons Ltd.,1947)

5

Newell. W., "Malayan Teochiew Chinese", American Anthropologist, April 1, 1957, pp.266-277.

6

Coughlin, R. J., "The Pattern of the Chinese in Thailand", Journal of the South Seas Society, Singapore, Vol. VIII, June, 1952, pp.1-3.

7

Willmott, Donald B., The Chinese of Semarang: a Changing Minority Community in Indonesia, New York: Cornell University Press, 1960, pp. 17-18.

8

Tan, Giok-lan, The Chinese of Sukabumi, New York: Cornell University Press, 1963, pp.121.

9

Hunter, P. The Status of Chinese Women in Southeast Asia, unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of London, 1964, pp. 108.

10

Kaye, Barrington, Upper Nanking Street, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1960; and Freedman, Maurice, Chinese Family and Marriages in Singapore, H.M. Stationery Office, London, 1957, pp.28.

11

Freedman, M., Chinese Family and Marriages ibid, pp.40.

12

Fortier, David H., "The Chinese in British North Borneo: ecological factors in cultural change", The New York Academy of Science, Vol: 19, April, 1956 & 1957, pp.579-580.

13

Freedman, M., Chinese Family and Marriages...., op. cit., pp.100.

14

Tan, Gatue Belen, "The Social Background of Shinee Chinese-Filipina Marriages", Philippines Sociological Review, Vol.III, July, 1955, pp.4.

15

Lyman, Stanford Morris, The Structure of Chinese Society in Nineteenth Century America, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1961, pp.346.

16

Lee, Rose Hum, "The Established Chinese Families of the San Francisco Bay Area", The Midwest Sociologist, Vol.20, December, 1957, pp.22-25.

17

Popenoe, P.B. & Johnson, R.H., Applied Eugenics, (Social Science Textbooks), New York: The Macmillan Co., 1918 (2nd. ed. in 1920), pp.315.

18

Davison, A.M., An Analysis of the Significant Factors in the Patterns of Toronto Chinese Family Life as a result of the recent changes in immigration laws which permitted the wives of Canadian citizens to enter Canada, M.S.W. Thesis, University of Toronto, August, 1952, pp.37-34.

19

Bronsdon, Madeline, Cohesion and Competition: Family Structure in Eleven Chinese Households, M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, June, 1965, pp. 193.

20

ibid, pp.63

21

Weber, Max, The Religion of China, tran. and ed. by Hans Gerth, The Free Press, 1951, pp.112.

22

Eberhard, Wolfram, "Periods of Feudalism, Gentry Society and the Formation of a Middle Class," in John T. Meskill (ed.), The Pattern of Chinese History: Cycles, Development of Stagnations, Boston, Heath, 1965, pp.64.

23

Wang, Gungwu, "Traditional Leadership in a New Nation: the Chinese in Malaya and Singapore," in G. Wijeyewardene, (ed.), Leadership and Authority: a Symposium, Centre for Southeast Asian Studies in the Social Sciences, University of Singapore, 1969, pp.210.

24

ibid, pp.211.

25

Skinner, G. William, "Overseas Chinese Leadership: Paradigm for a Paradox," in G. Wijeyewardene (ed), ibid, pp.197.

26

Williams, Lea A., "Chinese Leadership in Early British Singapore," Asian Studies, University of Philippines, Vol. 2 (2), August, 1964, pp.178-179.

27

Purcell, Victor, The Chinese in Southeast Asia, Oxford University Press, London, 2nd edition, 1965, pp.268.

28

Gullick, J.M., Indigenous Political Systems of Western Malaya, London: The Athlone Press, 1958, pp.24-25.

29

Coope, A.E., "The Kangchu System in Johore," Journal of Malayan Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIV (3), 1936, pp.247-263.

30

Skinner, G.W., "Authority and Leadership"...op.cit. pp.193-196.

31

deGroot, J.J.M., "Het Kongsuwezen van Borneo," The Hague, 1885, quoted in Ward, Barbara, "A Hakka Kongi in Borneo," Journal of Oriental Studies, Hong Kong, Vol: 1 (2) July, 1954, pp.362.

32

Skinner, G.W., Leadership and Power in the Chinese Community of Thailand, New York: Cornell University Press, 1958, pp.191 & pp.197.

33

Halpern, Joel M., The Role of the Chinese in Lao Society, The Rand Corporation, 1960 (revised 1961), pp.7-8; also in Halpern, J.M., "The Role of the Chinese in Lao Society", Siam Society, Bangkok Journal, Vol.49, 1961, pp.21-46.

34

Skinner, G.W., Leadership and Power..., op.cit., pp.191.

35

Skinner, G.W., ibid, pp.200.

36

Willmott, W.E., "Congregation and Association: the Political Structure of the Chinese Community in Phnom-Penh, Cambodia", Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. II(3), June, 1969, pp.296.

37

Hsu, Francis L. K., Americans and Chinese: Two Ways of Life, New York: Henry Schumann, 1953, pp.135.

38

Lyman, Stanford M., "Red Guard on Grant Avenue", Transaction, Vol.7(6), April, 1970, pp.21-23.

39

Elliss, James D., Some Problems concerning the Chinese in Oceania, M.A. Thesis, University of London, 1955, pp.114.

40

Hoy, William, The Chinese Six Companies, San Francisco: Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, 1942, pp.12.

41

Lyman, S. M., "Red Guard...", op. cit., pp.29.

42

Lyman, S.M., "The Chinese Social Organisation (I & II) ", in The Oriental in North America, Vancouver: Department of University Extension, University of British Columbia: a series of lectures given to C B U Radio, 1967, pp.3-4 & pp.5-6.

43

Willmott, W.E., "The Chinese Clan Association in Vancouver", Man, Vol. IXIV (49), March-April, 1964, pp.35.

44

Willmott, W.E., ibid, pp.36.

45

Hu, Hsien-Chin, The Common Descent Group in China and its Functions, New York, 1948, pp.14.

46

Freedman, Maurice, Chinese Lineage and Society: Fukien and Kwangtung, The Athlone Press, London, 1966, pp.1 & pp.73.

47

Ho, Ping-ti, An Historical Survey of Landsmannschaften in China, Taipei, 1966, pp.1.

48

Ho, Ping-ti, ibid, pp. 1-2.

49

Crissman, Lawrence W., "The Segmentary Structure of Urban Overseas Chinese Communities", Man, new series, Vol.2(2), June, 1967, pp.202.

50

Freedman, M., "Immigrants and Associations: Chinese in nineteenth Century Singapore", Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol.3, 1960-61, pp.39.

51

Freedman, M., Chinese Lineage and Society.... op. cit., pp.21.

52

Tien, Ju-kang, The Chinese of Sarawak: A Study of Social Structure, London School of Economics and Political Science, 1953, pp.11.

53

Personal telephone conversation with Professor Ho Ping-ti at the University of Chicago, summer, 1970.

54

Tien, Ju-kang, op.cit., pp.21-31 & pp.45-57.

55

Freedman, M., "Immigrants and Associations.....", op. cit., pp.43-44.

56

Hoe, Banseng, Chinese Ancestor Worship and Social Structure, unpublished Diploma Thesis, University of Singapore, 1964, Chapter 3-4.

57

Skinner, G.W., Leadership and Power....., op.cit., pp.22-23.

58

Freedman, M., "Immigrants and Associations....", op.cit., pp.39.

59

Skinner, G.W., Leadership and Power... op.cit., pp.23-26.

60

Willmott, W.E., "Congregation and Associations.....", op.cit., pp.287.

61

Willmott, W.E., The Chinese in Cambodia, Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1967, pp.85-87.

62

Tien, Ju-kang, op.cit., pp.21-45.

63

Amyot, J., The Chinese Community of Manila, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960, pp.124.

64

Willmott, Donald E., The Chinese of Semarang..., op.cit., pp.144.

65

Broady, Maurice, "The Chinese in Great Britain", in Fried, M.H., Colloquium on Overseas Chinese, Institute of Pacific Affairs, 1958, pp.31-32.

66

Ng, Kwee-choo, The Chinese of London, Oxford University Press, 1968, pp.49.

67

Huck, Arthur, Chinese in Australia, Longmans of Australia Ltd., 1967, pp.40.

68

Fong, Ng Bickleen, The Chinese in New Zealand, Hong Kong University Press, 1959, pp.50.

69

Hoy, William, op.cit., 12-16.

70

Lee, Rose Hum, The Chinese in the United States of America, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960, pp.150-152.

71

Willmott, W.E., "Chinese Clan Association in Vancouver", op.cit., pp.34.

72

Willmott, W.E., ibid, pp.36.

73

Lee, David T.H., A History of the Chinese in Canada, Taipei: Hai-Tien Printing Co., 1967, pp.174.

74

Willmott, W.E., "Chinese Clan Association in Vancouver", op.cit, pp.36.

75

Willmott, W.E., ibid, pp.35-36.

76

Tien, Ju-kang, op.cit., pp.10.

77

Wang, Gungwu, A History of the Nanyang Chinese, Eastern University Press, 1959, pp.3-7.

78

Chen, Ta, The Emigrant Communities in South China, New York, 1940, pp.3-7.

79

Willmott, Donald E., The Chinese of Semarang..., op.cit., pp.72.

80

Coughlin, Richard J., Double Identity :the Chinese in Modern Thailand, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960, pp.121-122.

81

Skinner, G.W., Chinese Society in Thailand:an Analytical History, Cornell University Press, 1957, pp.92-93.

82

Han, Suyin, "The Two Chinas and the Overseas Chinese", Eastern World, March, 1955, pp.20.

83

Fall, Bernard B., "Vietnam's Chinese Problems", Far Eastern Survey, Vol. XXVII(5), May, 1958, pp.68.

84

Tien, Ju-kang, op.cit., pp.42-45.

85

Tien, Ju-kang, ibid, pp.15 & pp.50-67.

86

Crissman, Lawrence W., "The Segmentary Structure of Urban Overseas Chinese Communities", op.cit., pp.68.

87

Tien, J.K., op.cit., pp.68.

88

Skinner, G.W., Chinese Society in Thailand..., op.cit., pp.99 & pp.315.

89

Willmott, W.E., The Chinese in Cambodia...., op.cit., pp.51-52.

90

Halpern, J.M., The Role of the Chinese in Lao Society, The Rank Corporation, 1960, (revised 1961), pp. 10.

91

Willmott, D.E., The Chinese of Semarang..., op.cit., pp.42-43;
Tan, Giok-lan, op. cit., pp.120-124.

92

vander Sprenkel, O.B., "Chinese Religion (a review article of The Religion of China, by Max Weber)", The British Journal of Sociology, Vol.V(3), September, 1954, pp.274.

93

Purcell, Victor, The Chinese in Southeast Asia, Oxford University, 1956 (2nd edition), pp.180-197.

94

Fitzgerald, C.p., The Third China, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1965, pp.27.

95

Willmott, W.E., The Chinese in Cambodia, ... op.cit., pp.47 & pp.94 & pp.96.

96

Uchida, Naosaku, "Economic Activities of the Chinese in Southeast Asia", Asian Affairs, March, 1956, pp.50-59; and Uchida, N., "Overseas Chinese Problems in Southeast Asian Nations", Asian Affairs, Vol. I, 1960, pp.75.

97

Skinner, G.W., Leadership and Power op.cit., pp.187, 194-195 & pp.199.

98

Willmott, W.E., The Chinese in Cambodia, op.cit., pp.94.

99

Ng, K.C., op.cit., pp.2-3 & pp.48; Broady, M., op.cit., pp.31-32.

100

Fong, Ng Bickleen, op.cit., pp.84-87, & pp.91.

101

Wu, T.F., "Overseas Chinese in Australia", Far Eastern Economic Review, September, 1958, pp.328.

102

Garis, Roy L., Immigration Restriction, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1928, pp.288.

103

Fincher, Jr., E.B., Past and Future Effects of Chinese Immigration in the Pacific Area, op.cit., pp.38-39.

104

Kung, S.W., The Chinese in American Life, Seattle; University of Washington Press, 1962, pp.195.

105

Lee, Rose Hum, The Chinese in the United States of America, ... op.cit., pp.146.

106

Lee, Rose Hum, ibid, pp.272.

107

Porter, John, The Vertical Mosaic, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965 (reprinted 1967), pp.64 & pp.74.

108

Willmott, W.E., "The Chinese Clan Association ...", op.cit., pp.36.

109

Willmott, W.E., ibid, pp.34.

111

Tien, Ju-kang, op.cit., pp.8-9.

112

Hwang, James P., "The Chinese in Sarawak", China Critic, (Shanghai), Vol.XXIX (6), 1940, pp.88.

113

Freedman, M., "The Chinese in Southeast Asia: a Longer View", in Robert Tilman (ed), Man, State and Society in Contemporary Southeast Asia, New York: Praeger, 1969, pp.436-437, & pp.441.

114

Freedman, M., ibid, pp.435-438.

115

Gosling, L.A.P., "Migration and Assimilation of Rural Chinese in Trengganu", in J.Bastin and R. Rodvink, (ed), Malayan and Indonesian Studies, Oxford University Press, 1964, pp.211-218.

116

Skinner, G.W., "Change and Persistence in Chinese Culture Overseas: a Comparison of Thailand and Java", Journal of South Sea Society, Singapore, Vol.VVI, 1960, pp.86-100.

117

Skinner, G.W., "The Chinese of Java", in Fried, M.H., (ed), Colloquium on Overseas Chinese, op.cit., pp.2-3.

118

Skinner, G.W., ibid, pp.6-8.

119

Tan, Giok-lan, op.cit., pp.41-47.

120

Wickberg, Edgar, The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898, Yale University Press, 1965, pp.240.

121

Coughlin, R.J., "The Chinese in Bangkok: A Commercial Oriented Community", American Sociological Review, Vol.20, 1955, pp.315-316.

122

Coughlin, R.J., Double Indentity.....op.cit., pp.67, 73 & 87.

123

Skinner, G.W., "Change and Persistence...", op.cit., pp.87.

124

Halpern, J.M., The Role of the Chinese in Lao Society, ...op.cit., pp.30.

125

Purcell, Vactor, The Chinese in Southeast Asia..., op.cit., pp.67-70.

126

Broady, M., op.cit. pp.33-34.

127

Fong, Ng Bickleen, ..op.cit., pp.47.

128

Huck, Arthur, The Chinese in Australia... op.cit., pp.24-39, & pp.76.

129

Kung, S.W., The Chinese in American Life,, op.cit., pp.213, 225, 174, 177 & 178.

130

Cheng, Tien-fang, Oriental Immigration in Canada, Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1931, pp.236-248.

131

Lyman, S.M., "Contrasts in the Community Organisation of Chinese and Japanese in North America", The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, Vol.V, May, 1968, pp.53 & pp.65.

Chapter VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Early Chinese immigrants all over the world have demonstrated a great propensity for change and adaptability to the various social structures in which they lived. Chinese labourers are known to be industrious, perseverent, docile, and hardworking. In the Black Candle, a former lady magistrate on the Prairies described the Chinese as having "physical vitality, patience and callousness of nerve [which] enable him to work in heat that would please a lizard or in cold that would trouble a polar bear."¹ MacNair also noted that the Chinese are "peculiarly endowed by nature to withstand the extreme of any climate. No country is too cold or too wet or too dry, too high or too low for them to settle and prosper."²

The qualities of Chinese peasants and labourers were exploited by the Western capitalists for trade and colonial expansion in the underdeveloped areas. They were useful as cheap coolies and middlemen. However, with the emergence of native nationalism, they were hated for their economic exploitation as well as for being the former allies of the colonialists. Despite political persecution and economic discrimination in some parts of Southeast Asia, the Chinese to a large extent maintain their place and positions today. They engage in a wide range of occupations and businesses, - from artisans, shopkeepers, carpenters, shoe-makers, and labourers to professionals, retail merchants, businessmen and millionaires.

In the Overseas Chinese Now - Wanderers No More, George Liu notes that among the overseas Chinese around the world, there are

"those who are astronomically rich, others who live in abject poverty. In Kuala Lumpur, there are women labourers who perform backbreaking labour while in posh residences nearby, sleek and perfumed tai-tai (rich wives) preen and flash bejewelled fingers over cocktails. In the United States they design bright skyscrapers, help split the atom, run restaurants and laundries. In remote Philippine barrios, they still sip tea and haggle with Filipinos patronizing their tiny sari-sari stores. In Japan, they play big-time baseball and indulge in cautious smuggling. In Singapore, they drive around in air-conditioned Rolls Royces and roam the docks as ragged coolies. Different as they are, these people are all tied by a bond they cannot break - the bond of their Chineseness."³

But what is this "Chineseness?" In Southeast Asia, not all the Chinese are racially Chinese - in fact, quite a significant number of them have mixed parental ancestry. Neither are most of the Chinese in North America culturally Chinese. There are some who are biologically Chinese but socially and culturally are un-Chinese. There are others who identify themselves as Chinese despite mixed parentage. But there are also some who are the patrilineal descendants of the earlier Chinese immigrants, bearing Chinese surnames and still maintaining their traditional beliefs and Chinese way of life. There are also second generation Chinese who do not know how to manipulate chopsticks or to reckon their parental ancestry, and have no knowledge of their father's place of origin and home village.

In view of the above, I do not propose to search for a definition of Chinese. I would venture to suggest that there are various degrees of "Chineseness" in a continuum, with a high degree of Chineseness at one end of the scale and a minimal degree at the other. The measurement of Chineseness can be delineated in the retention of Chinese cultural

behaviour, social identities, different material ways of life, genetic mixing and attitudes.

Certainly, such a continuum is not a satisfactory one, for I perceive the various assimilative configurations of the Chinese as a dynamic pattern subjected to change and re-arrangement in the time dimension. It has been observed that the assimilation of Chinese in the various social structures is an ebb-and-flow process, depending on the impact of political, social and economic forces. There are some who claim to be both Thai and Chinese at one particular point of time, but who identify themselves later as a "total" Chinese. There are some whose forefathers were assimilated into the native population, but who behave as Chinese in their way of life and general mannerisms.

In other words, there can be "regression" in the assimilative process, as well as "progression." In view of the complexity of the Chinese assimilative phenomenon, I would think a model of adaptive change would best explain the situation, rather than the concept of assimilation. This further depends on the nature and the position of the Chinese community and the functionality of the clan and lineage organisations in the various social structures. It depends also on the political, cultural, and economic forces that the Chinese encounter.

In general, we can say that immigrants, Chinese or non-Chinese, tend to seek, once they have decided to settle, economic positions, status, and recognition within the limitations and opportunities of the existing political and social order. In other words, the immigrants come with desires, hopes, and dreams, and they tend to exert their influence to further their interests and positions. Their reaction, conformity, acceptance, assimilation, and self-segregation can thus be seen

as the constant interplay between the immigrants' goals and social structure and the forces of the host society.

To point to just one example, in the colonial plural society where the natives were under the control of foreigners, Chinese immigrants did not see the need to assimilate into the native population; whereas in the post-colonial period, with the consolidation of the local political forces, the immigrants had to adapt themselves to the new changes. In some situations, the immigrants had to adopt new social and political identities.

The study has focused on two main themes: a comprehensive overview of the overseas Chinese settlements and an analytical study on a Prairie Chinese community. The accent has been placed on the process of adaptive change. It has been noted that the Chinese communities in Southeast Asia are more responsive to external political, economic and social changes and adapt themselves to the changing scenes while maintaining some of their traditions and cultural life. With their local community power structure and their economic position, the Chinese can manipulate the larger social and political institutions. In the West, however, the Chinese in general do not create viable communities; and the latter are subservient to the external political, economic and social structures. The Chinese, especially the younger generation, are constantly under the pressure of the dominant society.

To conclude, I would like to present again a brief summary of the Chinese social structure across the various national and cultural boundaries, with special emphasis on the Prairie Chinese.

The early Chinese came to Canada after 1858 and engaged in building the roads and railways. Their back-breaking labour also contributed

to the development of British Columbia's early mining, lumbering and fishing industries.

The coming of the Chinese caused anxiety and concern among provincial and federal government authorities. Various Royal Commissions were appointed to inquire into the so-called "Chinese problem" during the period of 1884-1923, when the Chinese were barred from coming to the country as a result of the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Law.

The Chinese spread all over the Prairies provinces and other parts of Canada after the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885. Some came to Prairie city to open laundries, restaurants and grocery stores, but their coming to the city and the province was not welcomed initially by the whites. There were anti-Oriental riots in Calgary and Lethbridge, wrecking their laundries and restaurants. There were persecution and economic discrimination against the Chinese. In 1892, there were 250 Chinese in Prairie city who were regarded as peculiar people who "did more harm than good".

It was not until 1947 that the Chinese immigration law of 1923 was repealed, bringing new changes in the traditional policies against the Chinese. The province of Alberta passed a Human Rights Act as late as 1966, intending to do away with racial prejudice and discrimination.

Having migrated overseas, the Chinese brought with them their traditional social institutions and their forms of organization. Chinese domestic institutions have been responsive to the changing socio-economic and cultural contexts overseas. In Southeast Asia, though the emphasis on patrilineal descent, family surnames and patrilocal residence still persist, the composition of the Chinese family has been moving toward small family size and an elementary type of family structure, especially

in the urban areas. The concept of kindred has been incorporating a wider range of kinsmen, including maternal kin, as is the case in Indonesia, rather than people from formerly limited and particular clan and lineage organisations. In Prairie City, as in other parts of North America, Chinese family structure has been conforming to the elementary pattern of the larger society.

Chinese clan and lineage organisation, which traditionally stressed the functions of mutual assistance, protection, security and group solidarity, cannot be reproduced intact overseas due to scattered settlements, diverse economic and occupational opportunities and social mobility. These organisations have to be restructured overseas in order to adapt to the various political, economic and social conditions. The overseas Chinese communities are therefore complex and heterogeneous. In general, the realignment of groups overseas is based on the principles of the common geographic origins, common surname, clanship, and shared occupational and economic interests. Because of these various criteria for organisation, it is not uncommon that in some associations, overlapping memberships cut across dialect, locality and surname boundaries. Invariably, there are a number of associations in which dialect groups cluster at various levels of the organisational structure.

The grouping together of the Chinese may help them in organising their social life among themselves, exerting their rights, opposing discriminatory measures which impede their interests and survival, settling their own disputes and disagreements, and serving social welfare and recreational needs among the members.

It is a common observation that the Chinese clan and lineage organisations in Southeast Asia are more prosperous and functional compared

With their counterparts in Western societies. Chinese associations in Southeast Asia have been in existence for many generations, and they can afford to establish schools, hospitals, social clubs, welfare agencies, and many other philanthropic organizations.

However, in Western societies, most Chinese associations, especially those in Canada and Prairie City, were established at the turn of the century. In earlier days, the associations did provide mutual aid, protection, and various recreational, educational and religious needs. But today, these functions have gradually disappeared, and have changed to become primarily concerned with cultural, social and recreational needs. With the aging of the older generation, the influence of the Chinese associations will probably decline in the local community; and their ability to influence the larger society will also be on the wane.

Some of the associations have been regarded as social and as no longer serving useful purposes. In other words, Chinese associations which traditionally catered to the needs of early immigrants did not gear themselves to the changing needs and new opportunities in a modern and industrial society. This is evident by the lack of participation and lack of interest among the younger generation, particularly the native-born, in the associational activities. The young tend to rely on the larger social order to meet their social and economic needs.

In Southeast Asia, surname, common geographic origin, clanship, dialect and kinship principles may be used for in-group solidarity and as an identification for economic cooperation and mutual trust. This is especially so when a society does not have adequate banking and

financial institutions, and thus has a lack of economic interdependence and dialect concentration in certain occupations among the members of a particular dialect group. Thus, coupled with their knowledge and skills in businesses and hard work, in these countries the Chinese are able to attain a high degree of economic success. Certainly, in order to consolidate their economic power, the Chinese have to depend on a reliable political base. Traditional Chinese leaders and wealthy merchants and businessmen were invariably co-opted into the colonial and indigeneous power structures. These Chinese elites could thus further their economic interests and monopolies; and in so doing, they became the complementary figures for the colonial or local authorities in controlling the Chinese communities.

In the interplay between economic power and political forces, the Chinese clan and lineage associations were able to join together to exert their rights and demands vis-a-vis the respective host societies. This further enhanced the functionality of the Chinese associations. However, with the rise of native nationalism and social changes in South-east Asia, the Chinese economic position is constantly subject to drastic changes. As a result, dialect concentration in a specific local occupation is gradually on the decline.

On the other hand, in the western world where there was a highly stratified social structure with modern financial and commercial management based on constant technological innovation, the Chinese with their agrarian background, relatively inferior business and economic methods and lack of skills and knowledge in modern capitalistic business organisation, were unable to make much headway in their economic enterprises. This, coupled with the earlier anti-Oriental legislation, occupational

restrictions and other forms of prejudice and discrimination, restricted the Chinese to businesses and occupations that were marginal to the larger economic order. They could hardly expect any influence in the host society, neither could they enter into open competition with Western corporate enterprises. They could only specialize in such small businesses as fruit stores, restaurants, laundries, groceries, retail stores, and curio and antique shops - businesses that involved hard work, little capital, long hours, patience, perseverance and little knowledge of English. In this situation, the clan and lineage organisations were able to make far less significant contributions to competitive success, and as noted before, have been on the wane, and in Canada, they have concerned themselves primarily with recreational and cultural activities.

Because the Chinese community in Southeast Asia could function with its own social system, without depending on the social institutions of the indigenous societies; and coupled with the functionality of their respective clan and lineage organisations, the process of assimilation of the Chinese descendants was slow, despite the fact that they have been living there for many generations.

On the other hand, among their counterparts in the West, the process of assimilation seems to be accelerating. The younger generation has become so westernized that they do not adhere to many of the traditions and beliefs. The Canadian-born Chinese show a high degree of assimilation in their dress, language and behaviour. They act like the members of the larger society. Because of the earlier social and political discrimination, the younger generation is eager to be assimilated in order to gain acceptance by the dominant society. Many of them are reluctant to follow their fathers' occupations; and many of them do not look to

Chinatown for employment opportunities and future prospects. Within a relatively short period of two or three generations, there seems to have been a high degree of assimilation.

Therefore, in my conclusion, I would summarize this formulation of the process of adaptive change as follows:

Where the Chinese were able to use their knowledge and skill to create economic and social power; and to maintain a favourable economic position of monopolization; and where the clan and lineage organizations were functionally significant to the social structure in which they lived, there was less assimilation and more persistence of traditional Chinese ways of life and customs. On the other hand, where their knowledge and skill were irrelevant to modern industrial society; and where they could not create, as in the East, a kind of economic monopoly; and when their clan and lineage organizations were functionally insignificant to the social structure in which they lived; then there was more assimilation to the attitudes and behavioural patterns of the host society and less persistence of traditional Chinese ways of life and custom. Finally, all of these processes are to be seen as adaptive and changeable, responsive to changes in the larger society.

Chapter VII -- Footnotes

¹Murphy, Emily. The Black Candle. T. Allen. Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 1922 (another copy: published by Hurst and Blackett, London, 1926) pp.187. I think she might have paraphrased the late Chinese minister, Wu Ting-fang's remark about the Chinese immigrants; he stated that "experience has proved that they (the Chinese immigrants) could survive under conditions that would kill a man of less hardy race and in heat that would kill a salamander or in cold that would please a polar bear;" quoted in Bush, J.D., "The Overseas Chinese as an Economic Factor," China Review, September, 1922, pp. 80.

²MacNair, H.F., The Chinese Abroad: Their Position and Protection -- a study of international law and relations, The Commercial Press Ltd., 1924, pp. 2-3.

³Liu, George. "The Overseas Chinese Now -- wanderers No More," The Asian Magazine, March 12, 1967, pp. 5.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cheng, Te-Chao, Acculturation of the Chinese in the United States: a Philadelphia Study, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1968.

Cheng, Tien-Fang, Oriental Immigration in Canada, Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1931.

Freedman, Maurice, Lineage Organisation in Southeastern China, London: The Athlone Press, 1958.

Freedman, Maurice, Chinese Lineage and Society: Fukien and Kwangtung, London: The Athlone Press, 1960.

Freedman, Maurice, "Immigrants and Associations: Chinese in Nineteenth Century Singapore," Comparative Study in Society and History, vol. iii, no.1, October, 1960, pp. 25-48.

Freedman, Maurice, and W.E. Willmott, "Southeast Asia, with Special Reference to the Chinese," International Social Science Journal, vol. 13, no.2, 1961, pp.245-270.

Freedman, Maurice, Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore, London: (H.M.S.O.), 1957.

Fried, Morton H., (ed), Colloquium on Overseas Chinese, New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1958.

Fried, Morton H., The Fabric of Chinese Society, New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1953.

Hsu, Francis L.K., Americans and Chinese: Two Ways of Life, Henry Schuman, New York, 1953.

Hsu, Francis L.K., Under the Ancestor's Shadow, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949.

Kung, S.w., Chinese in American Life: Some Aspects of Their History, Status, Problems, and Contributions, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1962.

Lee, David T.H., A History of Chinese in Canada, Taiwan: Hai-Tien Printing Co., 1967.

Lee, Rose Lum, The Chinese in the United States of America, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960.

Lee, S.D., San Francisco's Chinatown: History, Function, and Importance of Social Organisations, San Francisco Coordinating Council, 1945.

Liang Yuan, The Chinese Family in Chicago, unpublished M.A. Thesis, Chicago: University of Chicago, 1951.

Lyman, Stanford Morris, The Structure of Chinese Society in Nineteenth Century America, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Berkeley: University of California, 1961.

Lyman, Stanford M., Willmott, W.E., & Ho, Berching, "Rules of a Secret Society in British Columbia," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, vol. xxvii, part III, 1964, pp.530-539.

Lyman, Stanford Morris, "Contrasts in the Community Organisation of Chinese and Japanese in North America," The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, vol. 5, May, 1968, pp.51-67.

Mckenzie, R.D., Oriental Exclusion, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928.

Puscell, Victor, The Chinese in Southeast Asia, London and New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1951.

Skinner, G.W., Chinese Society in Thailand: An Analytical History, New York: Cornell University Press, 1975.

Skinner, G.W., Leadership and Power in the Chinese Community of Thailand, New York: Cornell University, 1958.

Stewart, Watt, Chinese Bondage in Peru: A History of the Chinese Coolie in Peru, 1849-1874, Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1951.

Tien, Ju-Kang, The Chinese of Sarawak: A Study of Social Structure, London School of Economics and Political Science, 1953.

willmott, Donald E., The Chinese of Semarang: A Changing Minority Community in Indonesia, New York: Cornell University Press, 1960.

willmott, Donald E., The National Status of the Chinese in Indonesia, 1900-1958, New York: Cornell University, Modern Indonesia Project Monograph Series, 1961.

willmott, W.E., Chinese Communities in British Columbia Towns, unpublished manuscript, University of British Columbia.

willmott, W.E., "Chinese Clan Associations in Vancouver," Nan, vol. Ixiv, no. 49, March-April, 1964. pp.33-57.

willmott, W.E., "History and Sociology of the Chinese in Cambodia Prior to the French Protectorate," Journal of Southeast Asian History, vol. 7, no. 1, March, 1966, pp.15-38.

WILLMOTT, W.E., The Chinese in Cambodia, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1967.

WONG, C.S., A Gallery of Chinese Kapitans, Singapore: Ministry of Culture, 1963.

WU, CHING-CHAO, Chinatowns: A Study of Symbiosis and Assimilation, Ph. D. Dissertation, Chicago: University of Chicago, 1928.

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA LIBRARY

I wish a photocopy of the thesis by

entitled HOE BAN SENG. (author)
ADAPTIVE CHANGE.

The copy is for the sole purpose of private scholarly or scientific study and research. I will not reproduce, sell or distribute the copy I request, and I will not copy any substantial part of it in my own work without permission of the copyright owner. I understand that the Library performs the service of copying at my request, and I assume all copyright responsibility for the item requested.

[illegible]

